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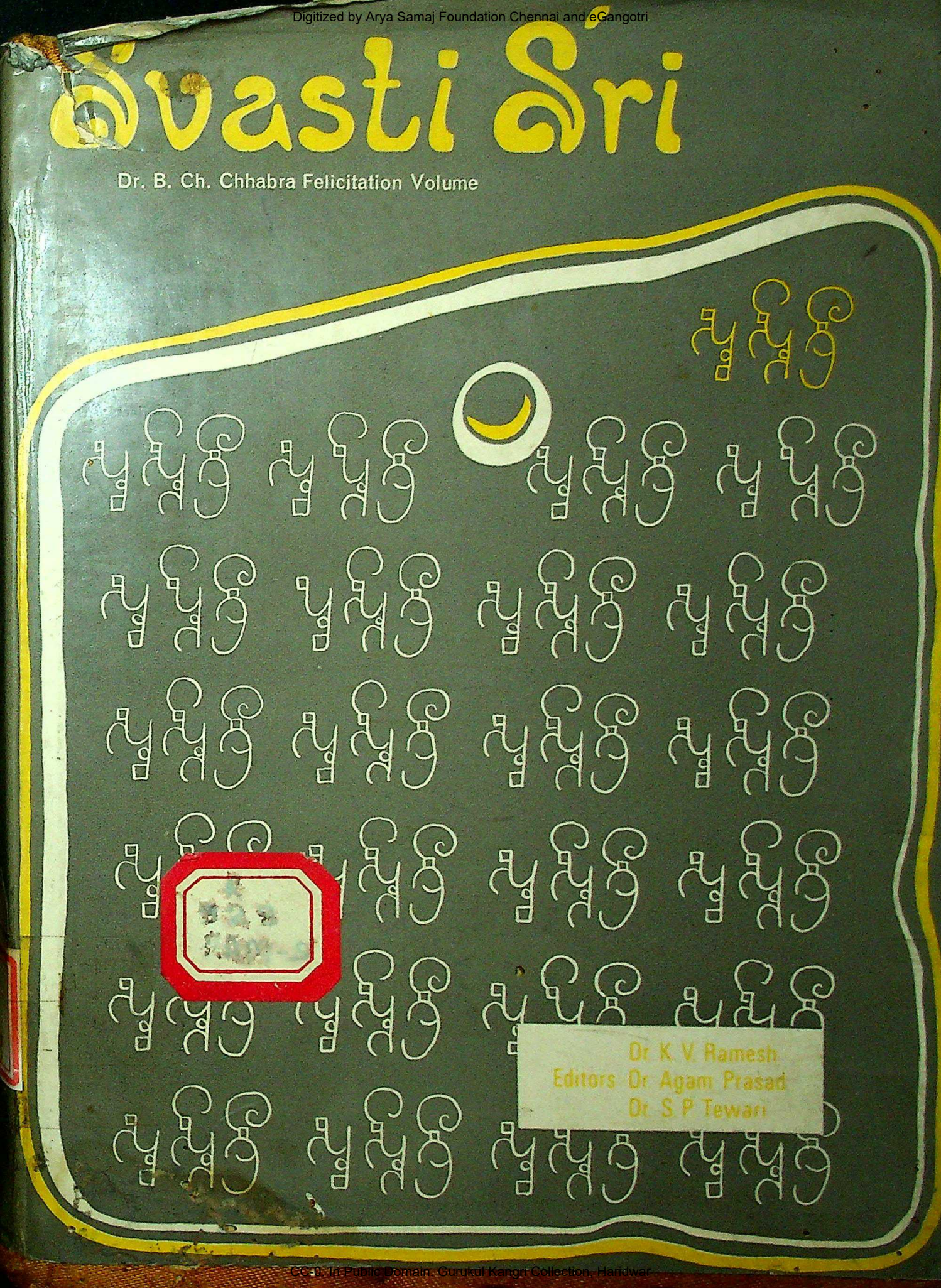

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Editors Dr Agam Prasad
Dr S P Tewari

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DR. AGAM PRASAD

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AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
DELHI
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PREFACE

Svasti Śrī is the result of an abiding desire on the part of Dr. Chhabra's friends and admirers to give a meaningful expression to their unbounded appreciation of the man and the scholar in Dr. Chhabra. The title of the volume is itself the result of the editors' desire that it should truly reflect all the goodness and benevolence which Dr. Chhabra has showered upon fellow human beings who had come in contact with him in his official as well as social life.

Dr. Chhabra's deep and erudite scholarship and the readiness with which he has always helped friends and students in their academic pursuits have earned for him international repute while his goodness and generosity are remembered vividly by his beneficiaries even years after they had lost personal contacts with him. The editors fondly hope that their twin desire of honouring the great man that Dr. Chhabra is and of enriching the field of academic studies with a volume of learned articles contributed by scholars of erudition both from India and abroad is fairly well met by the publication of *Svasti Śrī*. They join Dr. Chhabra's innumerable well-wishers in praying the Almighty to bestow upon him a long and prosperous life.

The editors take this opportunity to sincerely thank all the learned contributors of articles and also those who, not finding time to prepare their papers, thoughtfully sent in their best wishes. They remember with gratitude all the staff of Agam Kala Prakashan and the printers, Print India for their unstinted co-operation in seeing this volume through.

Editors

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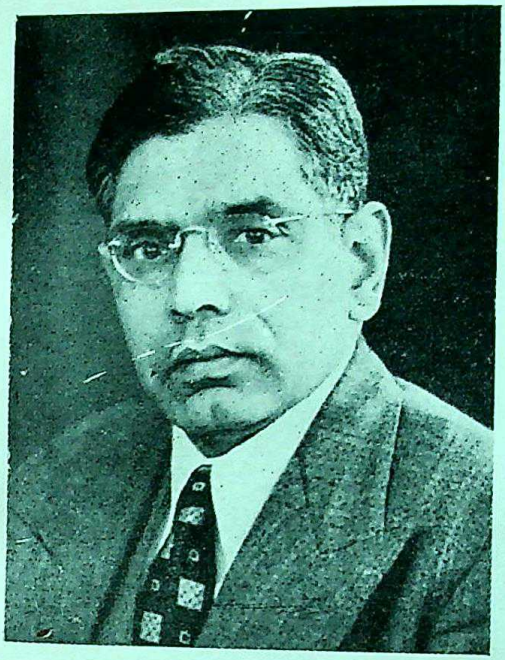
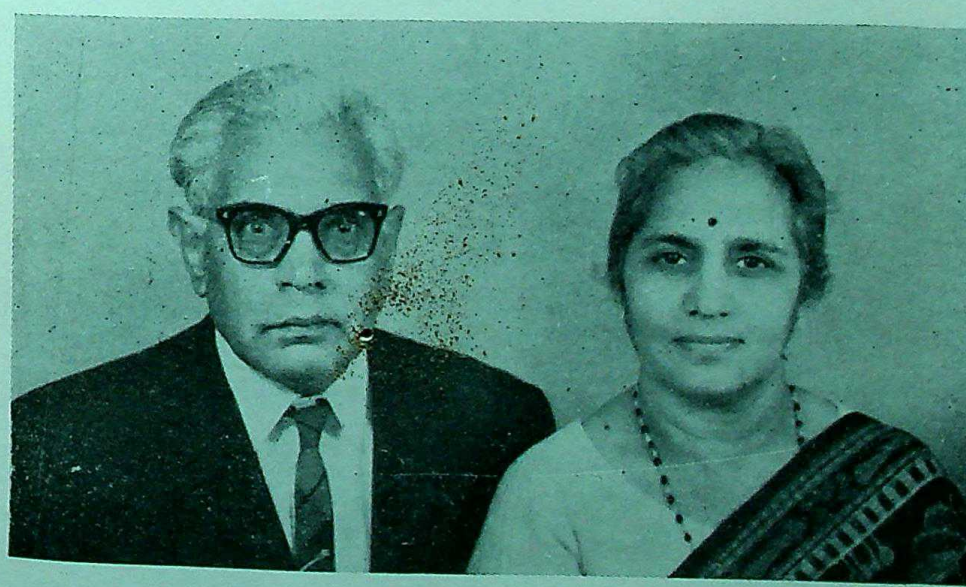


Dr B. Ch. Chhabra as culture Attaché at the Hague, 1949



Mrs. & Dr. Chhabra

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Dr. Chhabra with Dr. Rajendra Prasad at Sanchi

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Dr. Chhabra with Marshall Tito signing the visitors' book at Sarnath Museum, 1961

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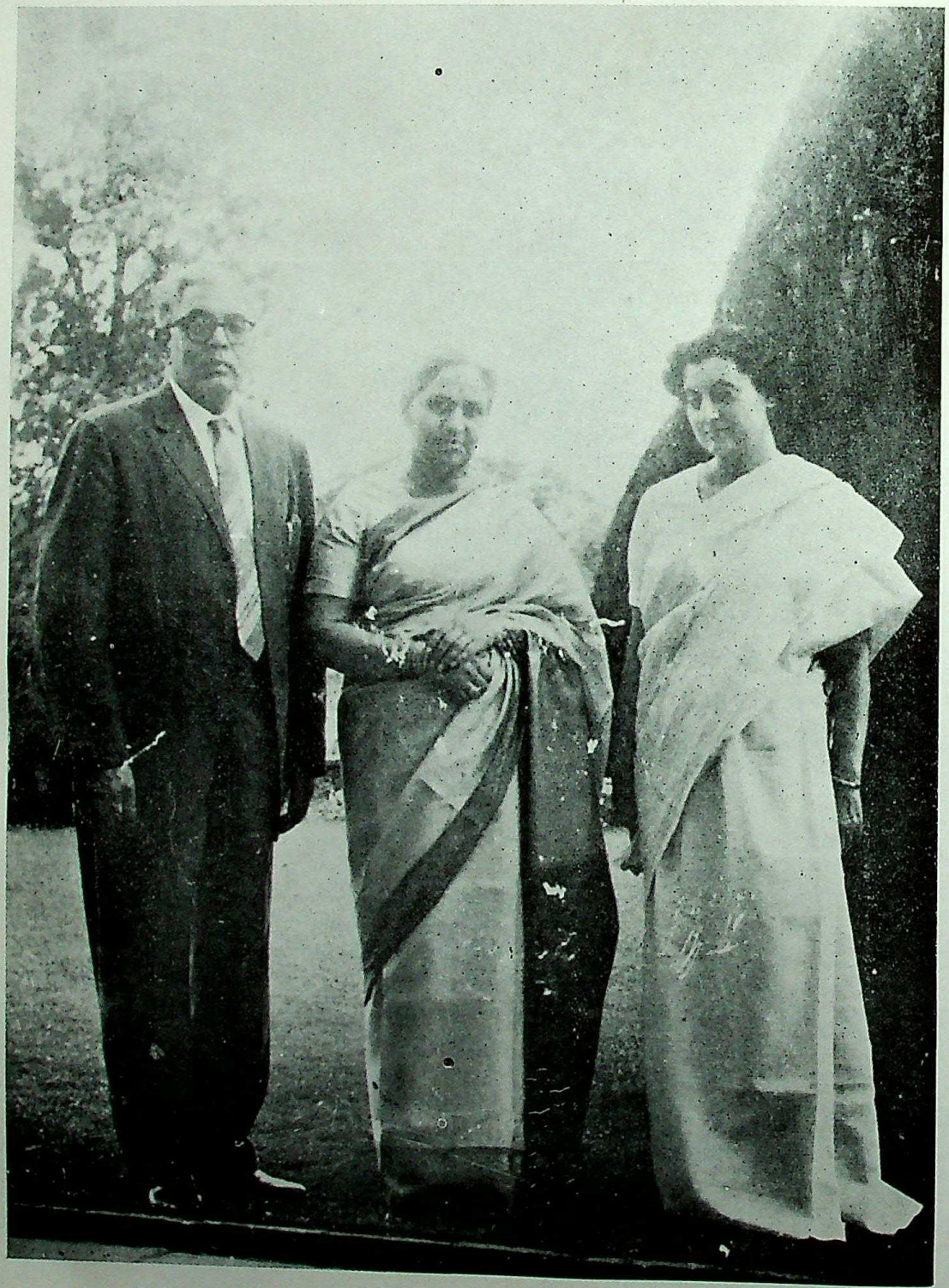

Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Mrs. & Dr. Chhabra in January 1960.

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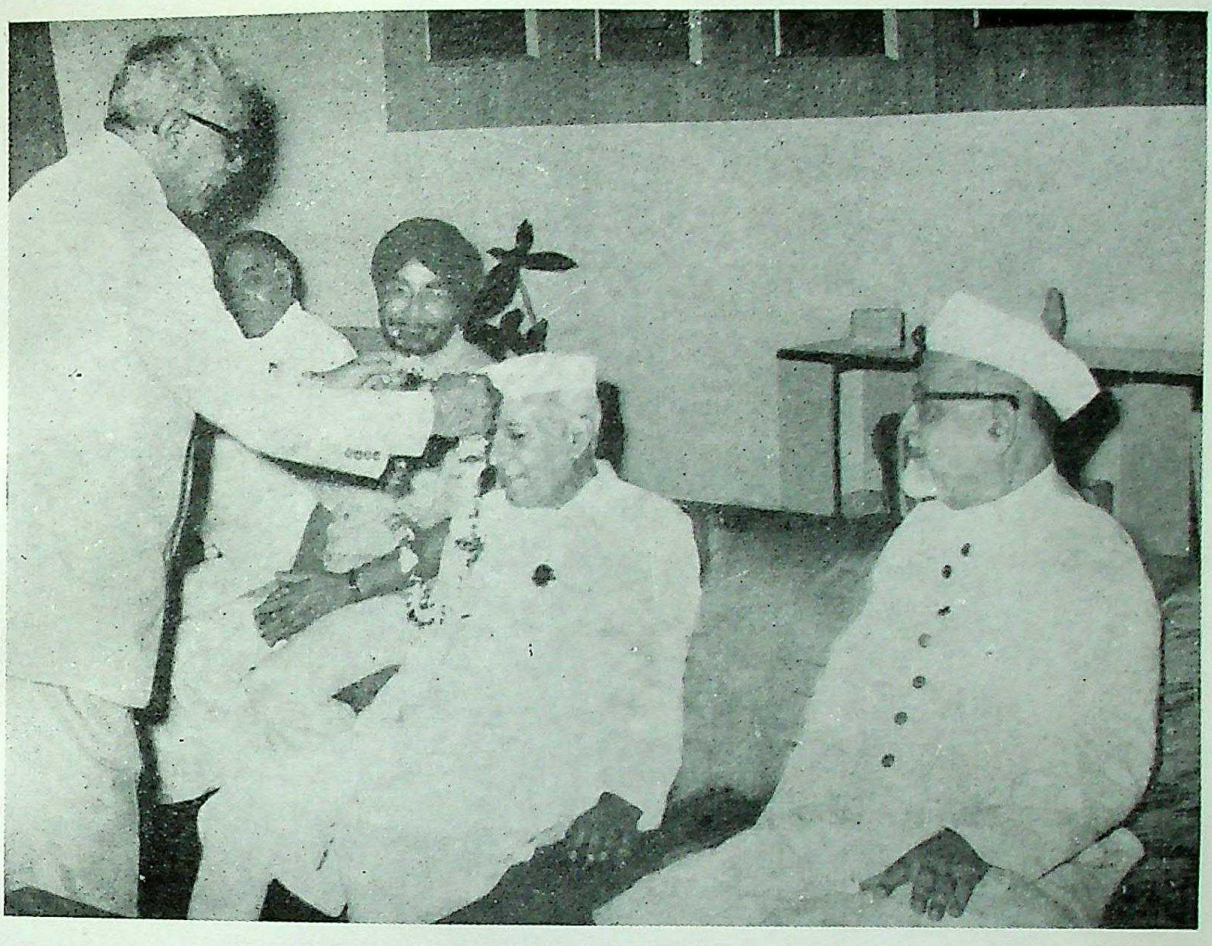
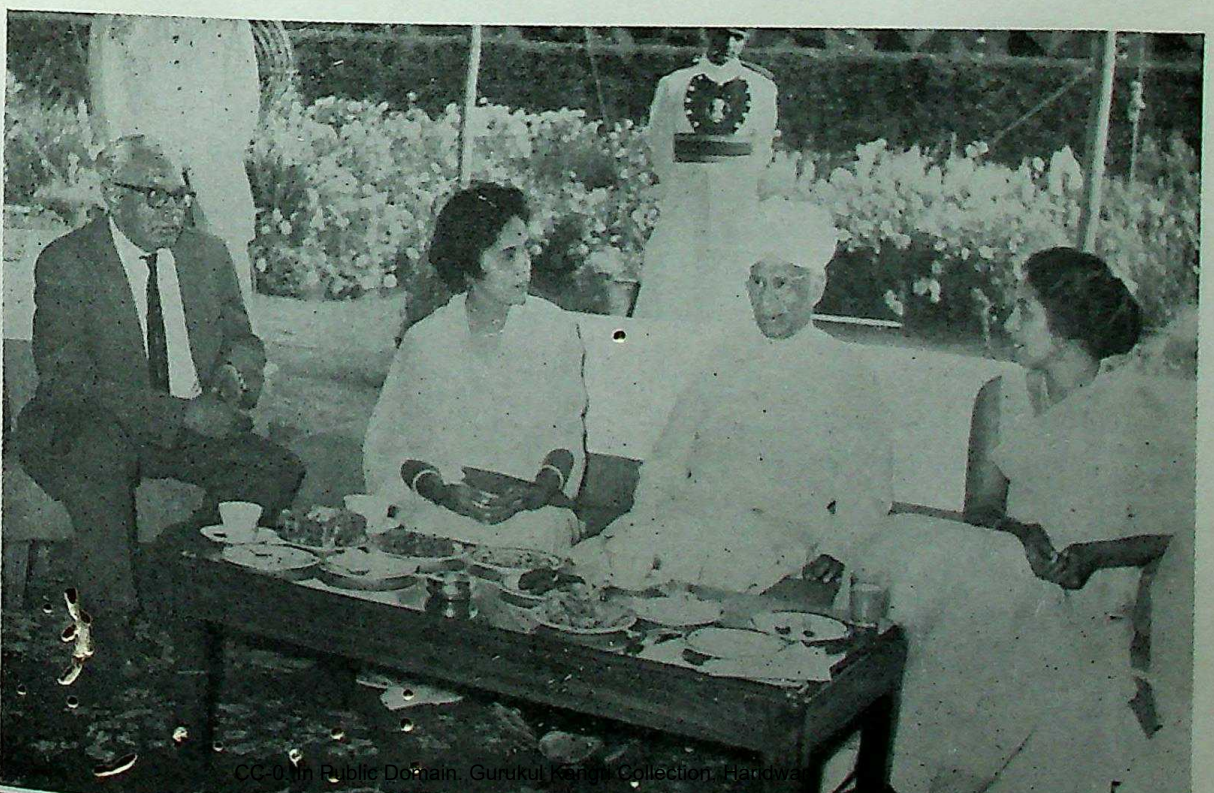


↑ Dr. Chhabra garlanding Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru at Dr. Zakir Hussain residence when the latter got award of Bharataratna.

↓ Dr. Chhabra with Dr. Radhakrishnan.



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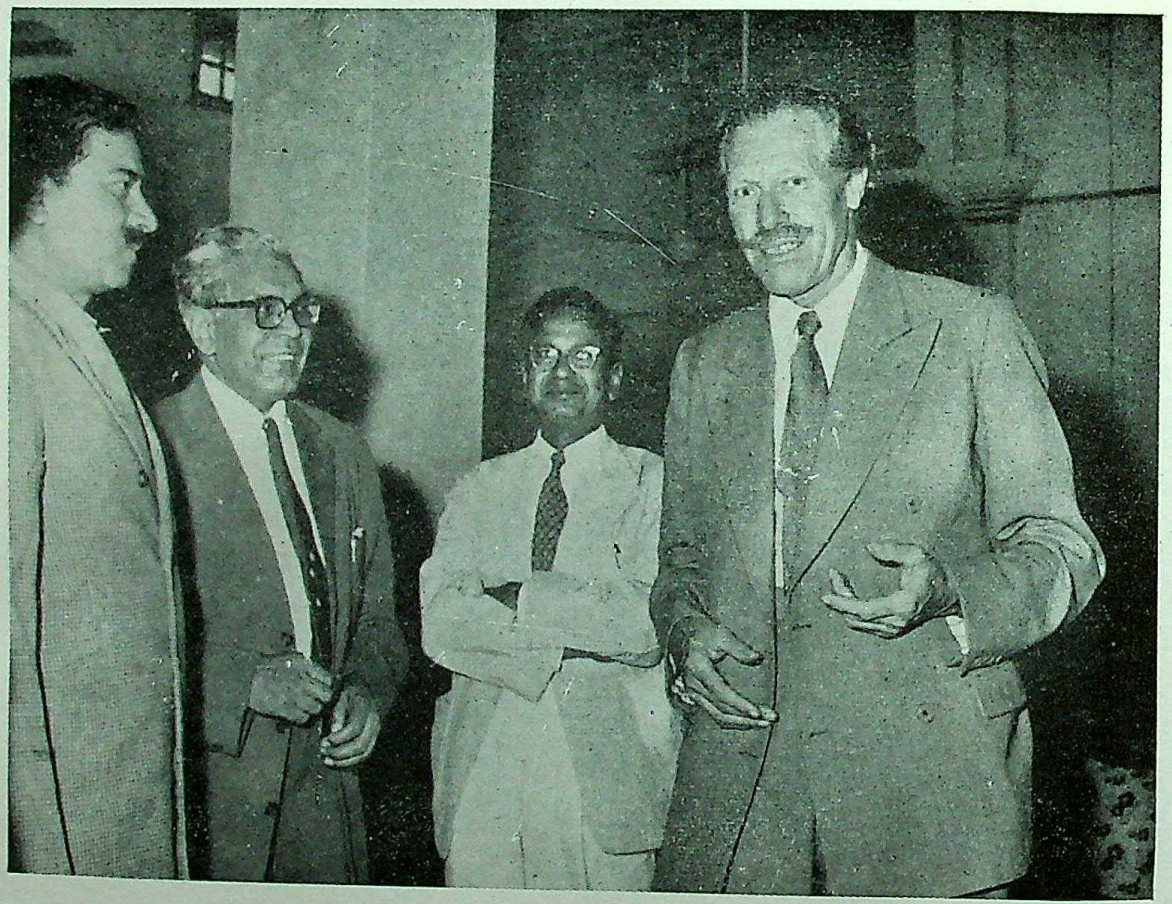

Dr. Chhabra with Wheeler in Constitution House, at the meeting of Archaeological Survey of India.

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Dr. Chhabra in Hawaii 1960, preparing an inked estampage of a patroglaph.

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Being honoured with a copper plate at Banglore in February 1979

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DR. B. CH. CHHABRA : A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

DR. AGAM PRASAD*

As the term *Festschriften* itself connotes, these are collections of writings presented to scholars to mark occasions in their life; also known as festival making. In a wider sense, the term also implies intrinsic and rousing regard of a particular erudite community cherished towards their most reverend predecessors. Extrinsically, this is what is evinced through their collections of writings, eventually emerges in the form of a Felicitation Volume. And since the present *Festschrift* is being offered to felicitate, one of the predecessors of scholars, Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra, perhaps there remains no reason to deny the definition what the above term factually envelopes.

A very familiar dictum of 'Coming events cast their shadows before' goes very true in case of this scholar too. It can be unpresumably affirmed viewing Dr. Chhabra's very brilliance *in precipio* of his life. The saying proved for me to be even more substantiated when I happened to see his diaries which he used to maintain during his school days found wholly in Sanskrit. Born on 3rd of April, 1908 (3-4-1908) at Kohat near Peshawar, Dr. Chhabra persecuted his college-career in Punjab University, Lahore and secured Shastri (Honours in Sanskrit) in 1926. Later he achieved Prabhakar (Honours in Hindi) in 1930, M.A. (in Sanskrit) and M.O.L. (Master of Oriental Languages—Honorary) in 1931 from the same University. He stood first in all these. Thereafter Dr. Chhabra left for Holland to pursue his Ph.D. from the State University of Leiden, Holland, which he completed in 1934 under the guidance of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel.

On his return from abroad, Dr. Chhabra joined the Archaeological Survey of India under the Ministry of Education and Culture. First he served as Government Epigraphist (1935-1953) at Ootacamund. Later on he was promoted as Joint Director General and worked in that capacity from 1953-66. In between he was deputed as Cultural Attaché in the Embassy of India in Holland at The Hague, when it was started there in 1949. And he served there as Cultural Attaché for about 8 months. In August 1965 he proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement and joined Punjab University at Chandigarh as Professor of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology. He remained there from 1965 to 1969. After retiring from Punjab University,

* A.P. 87, Maurya Enclave, Delhi-110 034.

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he went back to Ootacamund where he had stayed earlier and worked as Honorary Adviser to Sri Jayachamarajendra Art Gallery, Mysore. Further he shifted from Ooty to Bangalore where he remained from 1976 to 1980. Apart from his study there at Ooty Dr. Chhabra used to write articles and giving lectures on various socio-cultural and religious topics. At Ooty, he also started a research organisation, Lalit Institution of Pacific Archaeology.

Dr. Chhabra has also simultaneously been crowned with certain distinctions and honours as can be mentioned below :

1. He has been Fellow of Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 2. Fellow of Epigraphical Society of India, Dharwar, 3. Fellow of Epigraphic Society, San Diego, U.S.A., 4. Honorary Member, Kokee Natural History Museum, Kauai, Hawaii, U.S.A., 5. Honorary Correspondent, Kern Institute, Leiden, 6. Honorary Correspondent, Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, France, 7. Honorary Adviser, Sri Jayachamarajendra Art Gallery, Mysore, 8. Honorary Director, Ashoka Maurya and Pallava Historical Trust, Pondicherry, 9. President of the Sections of Archaeology & Ancient History of the Lucknow Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1955, 10. President of the section of Greater India of the Gauhati Session of the All-India, Oriental Conference, 1965, 11. President of the section of the South-East Asian Studies of the Ujjain Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1972, 12. President of the Nilgiris Rotary Club, Coonoor, Nilgiris, 1946-47.

He had the subjects Sanskrit, Indian Art and Culture on his teaching assignments in abroad i.e. in Rome, Italy, University and Italian Institute of Extreme Orient, in 1959; in Indonesia, Universities of Djakarta, Bandung and Surabaya in Java and of Dan Pisar in Bali, 1960; in Hawaii, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1963; at University of the Seven Seas-floating on the ship M.S. Seven Seas, round the world from America and he was with them from Bombay to Colombo only, 1964; and at University of San Diego, California, U.S.A. 1972. In between he delivered lectures, on special invitations, at Hongkong, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Tokyo, Washington, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Haven, New York, Princeton, Albany, Salem, Harvard, etc., as also at Toronto, Halifax, Frederiction etc. in Canada. Most of his lectures were illustrated with slides.

Furthermore, Dr. Chhabra was ceremoniously presented a copper plate on the Ratha-Saptami day i.e. on February 3, 1979, at Bangalore by Dr. P.C. Chunder, the then Minister of Education and Culture, Government of India while presiding over the 5th annual meeting of the Epigraphical Society of India. On the Shrāvaṇa pūrṇimā day i.e. on August 8, 1979, at Bangalore, His Holiness Shri Vishveshatirtha Maharaja, as Chancellor of Sarawatha Mahavishwavidyalaya, Bannergatta, Bangalore conferred on him the title Purātattavavishārada. And Dr. Shashikanta Jain, President of the Anantajyoti Vidyapeetha, conferred on him the title Itihāsamanīshī (An Ornamental plate) on February 12, 1982 at Lucknow.

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Moreover Dr. Chhabra has authored several books on Indological studies including on Sanskrit, history etc. He has also contributed a number of articles on Archaeology, Epigraphy and on Coins and Seals to many journals of standing. A collection of his Sanskrit poems with the title 'Pushpahāsa' conceivably named after Lord Viṣṇu or maybe after his late father's name Sri Vishnu, is due to appear shortly.

And lastly I would say that I feel fortunate enough to have had the opportunity to give a brief bio-graphical sketch of such a high-talented person. To mince the usual words or phrases as Dr. Chhabra has been a well-known authority on Indological and epigraphical studies will perhaps not suffice say what he deserves. It will be no exaggeration if we call him a doyen of Indian culture. No body can admittedly remain without appreciation to have once been in his touch of his most characteristic ewelamb—his humanistic trend—and his amicable temperament which is also very vivaciously reflected from the title of the volume *Svasti Śrī* itself. We pray the Effulgent One—the omnipotent God—to shower His blessings on Dr. Chhabra and his family.

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SOME OUTSTANDING LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF DR. CHHABRA

(BOOKS AND ARTICLES)

1. *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule* (Ph.D. thesis) first published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in their Journal, Letters, Vol. I (1935) with 7 plates. Its enlarged edition was published in 1965 by Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Publishers, with 19 plates.
2. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, (Part II). Published as No. 72 Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, with 33 plates and I chart.
3. *Anthology of Sanskrit Inscriptions* (Abhilekhasamgraha) being a collection of poetic compositions found in Sanskrit inscriptions. Published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.
4. *Bhojacharitra* of Rajavallabha, edited in collaboration with S. Sankaranarayanan.
5. *Museums and Democracy* published by the University of Baroda.
6. *Isopalambha* (an original poem in Sanskrit). Published by The National Publishing House, Delhi 1955.

   (N.B. this and other Sanskrit poems by Chhabra, composed and published now and then in journals or as booklets, have been collected in a book form, entitled PUSHPAHASA, which is being printed by the V.V.R.I. Press at Hoshiarpur—almost fully printed. Total about 1200 verses.)
7. *Epigraphia Indica*, edited Vols. XXVII and XXVIII, also prepared their Indexes.
8. *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* for 1945-46, 1946-47 and 1947-48.
9. *Inscriptions of the Early Guptas* (Revised Vol. III of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum), in collaboration with D.R. Bhandarkar and G.S. Gai only recently out.
10. *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the National Museum New Delhi*, was completed in 1975, is in the press now.

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Papers (Archaeology)

11. *Ancient Site of Intwa near Junagadh*, in Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, 1952.
12. *Antiquities from Jhusi and other Sites*, Lalit Kala, No. 9 1961.
13. *Archaeology as a Career, Vocational Guidance*—News Letter, No. 35 March 1959.
14. *Archaeological Enterprize in Free India*, The Onlooker, Vol XIX, No. 16, Aug. 15, 1957, p. 63 Independence Anniversary Number.
15. *Aśokan Pillar at Hissar*, Punjab, V.I. Journal II, 1964.
16. *Progress of Archaeology*, published in India—Souvenir Volume of the International Congress on Diseases of the Chest, Feb. 1963, pp. 20-24.
17. *Rotary Wheel 2000 Years Ago*, Rotary News, Bangalore, Vol. I, No. 10, p. 10, April 1953.

Papers (Epigraphy)

18. *Ajanta Cave Inscriptions*, published as an Appendix to Vol. IV of Dr. G. Yazdani's *Ajanta*, pp. 112-24.
19. *Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta is not Posthumous*, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXIV, pp. 104-13 (herein the author has shown that Fleet was wrong in assuming that the inscription was posthumous.)
20. *Bamhani Plates of Pandava King Bharatabala*; Year 2, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132-45, with I plate.
21. *Bangkok Museum Inscription of Mahendra*, Journal of Siam Society, Vol. XLIX, 1961, and Ep. Ind.
22. *Chatesvara Prasasti Further Elucidated*, Journal of the Orissa Historical Research, Vol. I (1952), pp. 11-13.
23. *Chatesvara Temple Inscription*, Ep. Ind., XXIX, 121 ff. with one plate.
24. *Chevuru Plates of Eastern Chalukya Amma I*, Ep. Ind. XXVII, pp. 41-47, with 1 plate.
25. *Curzon Museum Inscription of Kanishka's Reign; Year 23*, Ep. Ind. XXVIII, pp. 42-44, with 1 plate.
26. *Deogarh Gupta Pillar Inscription*, published in the Monograph on the Deogarh Gupta Temple.
27. *Devaprayag Brahmi Inscriptions*, Ep. Ind. XXXI.
28. *Ghoshitarama Terracotta Lamp Inscription*, published twice in English and cnce in Sanskrit; ...

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1

THE DATE OF VISHṆUKUṆḌIN MĀDHAVAVARMAN I

V. V. MIRASHI*

While editing the Ṭhākurdiyā plates of the Śarabhapurīya king Mahā-Pravararāja in the *Epigraphia Indica*[1] several years ago, we had occasion to discuss the date of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I. We then pointed out that he was related to the Vākāṭakas; for his son Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman is described in the Kandulapalem plates[2] as one whose birth was adorned by the two royal families of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Vākāṭakas. Mādhavavarman, therefore, seems to have married a Vākāṭaka princess from whom he had the son named Vikramēndravarman. Her father evidently was the last known Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa (A.D. 475-500) or some relative of his. Mādhavavarman was thus a junior contemporary of Harishēṇa. His date has latterly become a subject of controversy in connection with the discussion of the date of the recently discovered Malhāra plates of the Muṇḍa king Ādityarāja. We first state here our view and later discuss another on the same subject.

The genealogy of the Vishṇukuṇḍins has long been a matter of keen controversy. As almost all the dates cited in their grants are regnal, they afford no help in the solution of the problem. However, recently some fresh evidence has become available which sheds some welcome light on it. The genealogy of the family may be stated as on the next page with relevant dates in the light of the records discovered till now.

As Mādhavavarman I had a long reign of more than 40 years, his sons Dēvavarman and Vikramēndravarman seem to have predeceased him. No records of their reign have yet been discovered.

As shown, Mādhavavarman I, son of Gōvindavarman I, was a junior contemporary of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa, who flourished in A.D. 475-500. So he can be placed approximately in A.D. 490-535, as he had a long reign of more than 40 years. We have the valuable information from his Pulomburu plates[3] that there was a lunar eclipse in Phāiguna in his fortieth regnal year. If he came to the throne in A.D. 490, that eclipse must have occurred round about A.D. 530. The same

*"Kamalasadan", Dharampet, Nagpur—10.

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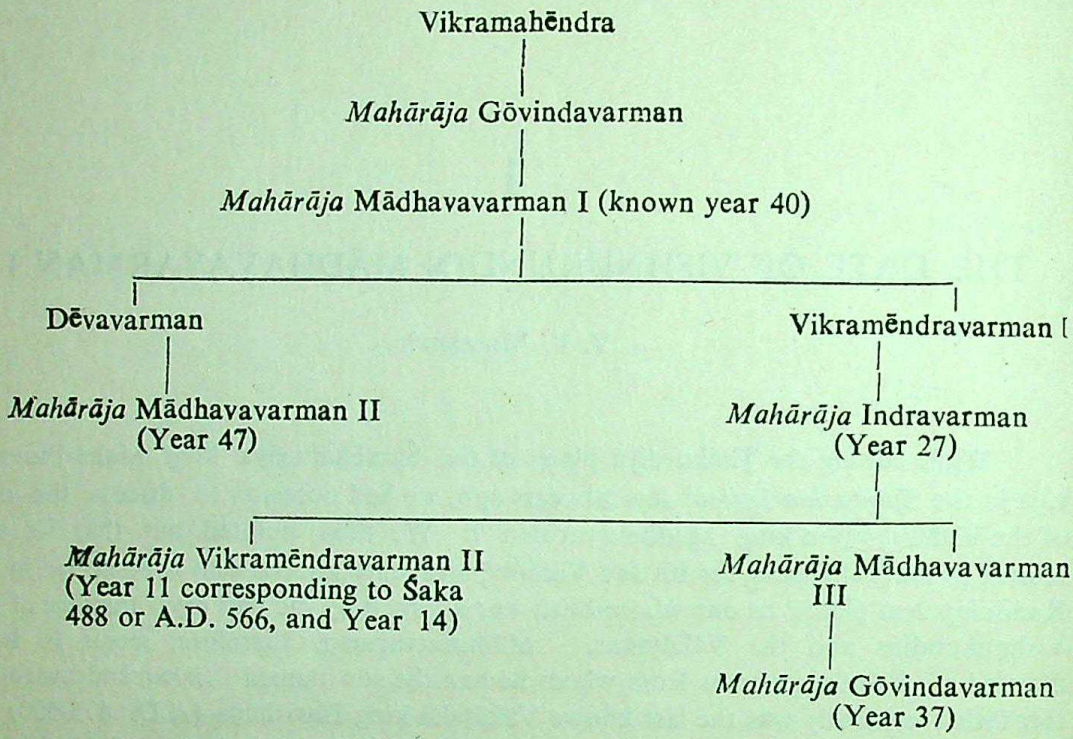
approximate date is obtained from other data. We know that the Tummalaguḍem plates[4] issued in the 11th regnal year of Vikramēndravarman II are dated in the Śaka



year 488 or A.D. 566. Now, the known regnal years of his father Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman[5] and great-grandfather Mādhavavarman I are 27 and 40 respectively. The total of these three regnal years comes to (40 + 27 + 11=) 78. Deducting this from A.D. 566 when the Tummalaguḍem plates of Vikramēndravarman II were issued, we get A.D. 488 as the lower limit for the accession of Mādhavavarman I. The exact year of it can be ascertained from the mention of the lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna in the fortieth regnal year.

We know from Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* that there were lunar eclipses in Phālguna in the three successive years A.D. 527, 528 and 529, but there was none in the succeeding period of A.D. 510 to 526 and also none in the succeeding period of A.D. 530 to 545. So the lunar eclipse in the fortieth regnal year of Mādhavavarman I must be one of those in A.D. 527, 528 and 529. We have fixed above A.D 488. as the lower limit for Mādhavavarman I's accession. So the lower limit for the lunar eclipse in his fortieth regnal year would be (488 + 40 =) A.D. 528. As there was a lunar eclipse in Phālguna in A.D. 527, it must be the one mentioned in Mādhavavarman's Pulomburu plates of the 40th regnal year. Mādhavavarman thus came to the throne probably in (527 minus 40)= A.D. 487. He was preceded by *Mahārāja* Gōvindavarman I. The latter was a contemporary of Vākāṭaka Harisheṇa (A.D. 475-500), who must have given the kingdom of Andhra to him after overthrowing the last Sālaṅkāyana king in his invasion of the country in *circa*

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A.D. 480. He then cemented the political alliance by giving a Vākāṭaka princess to Gōvindavarman's son Mādhavavarman I.

A.M. Shastri has recently criticised our view in his article published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*.[6] He says that 'it is based on absolutely no evidence.' He placed the end of the reign of Mādhavavarman I 'not later than A.D. 518-519'. We place it after (487 + 40) = A.D. 527. There is thus a difference of at least 9 years between our views about the termination of Mādhavavarman I's reign. As definite dates are very rare in the ancient history of India, this divergence is not surprising. But fortunately in the case of the accession of Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I, we have evidence for fixing it more or less definitely. So this matter deserves close scrutiny.

Shastri places the end of Mādhavavarman I's reign 'not later than A.D. 518-19'. As that king had a reign of more than forty years, he must have come to the throne not later than (518 minus 40) = A.D. 478 according to Shastri. From the Pulomburu plates we know that there was a lunar eclipse in Phālguna of his 40th regnal year i.e. towards the close of his reign. From Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* we find that there were lunar eclipses in A.D. 500, 509 and 510. To suit Shastri's hypothesis, we shall take the last one of these (*via* that in A.D. 510) as the one intended to be referred to in the Pulomburu plates. As it was in the 40th regnal year of Mādhavavarman I, the Vishṇukuṇḍin king must have come to the throne in (510 minus 40) = A.D. 470. But this goes against the evidence of Vishṇukuṇḍin inscriptions. We have shown above that according to them, Harishēṇa (A.D. 475-500) conquered Andhra sometime after his accession and gave the country to Gōvindavarman I and a Vākāṭaka princess to his son Mādhavavarman I. The latter came to the throne some years later—long after A.D. 470. No Vākāṭaka king before Harishēṇa had conquered Andhra. The evidence of Vishṇukuṇḍin records is thus definitely against Shastri's theory that Mādhavavarman I ended his reign 'not later than A.D. 516-19'.

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2

NOTE ON SKANDAR IMAGE INSCRIPTION

D. C. SIRCAR*

The first verse of the Skandar (Afghanistan) Umā-Mahēśvara image inscription, edited by me,[1] reads :

Eka-mū[r]ttis=tridhā jātā Vra(Bra)hmā Vishṇu[u]r=Mahēśvaraḥ [/]*
Karttā Vi[shṇu]ḥ kṛi (kri)yā Vra(Bra)hmā [k]āraṇan=tu Mahēśvaraḥ //

This states how the single form became triple in the shapes of Brahman, Vishṇu and Mahēśvara, of whom the first is the *kartṛi* (actor), the second the *kriyā* (action) and the third the *kāraṇa* (cause) apparently meaning respectively the creator, the creation and the motive behind the creation.

It was pointed out that °*s=tridhā jātā* was wrongly read as *ttri-vāsanā* by the the Japanese scholar, Mr. Meiji Yamada, in his note appearing in the *Archaeological Survey of Kyoto University in Afghanistan*, 1970 (pp. 15-21), published in 1972. It was further pointed out that the reading and interpretation of the stanza in the latter part of the inscription are extremely difficult, and I dismissed Yamada's reading of the said part as faulty text without any sense. However, it now appears to me from a further study and better illustration that at least the penultimate word of the record was correctly read by Yamada as *nilayaṁ* and wrongly by myself as *nirayaṁ*. Although I succeeded in extracting some sense out of this difficult verse, I was not quite happy with my attempt. It now appears that the correct interpretation has occurred to me with the acceptance of Yamada's reading of the said word. Mr. Yamada's reading of the last five *aksharas* at the end of the first half of the verse as *nōpalabhyatē* also seems to me now better than *nōpalakshaṇaṁ* suggested by me. At the beginning of the second half of the stanza I would prefer *ta[th]ā* to *kṛityā*.

Thus the second part of the Skandar image inscription, which contains a prose passage followed by a verse, reads :

uktañ=cha Bhagavatā Mahādēvēna
Ya [th]=āg[n]im=abhipra[k]shipya visedhaṁ (śōdha) nē(u)palabhyatē /
ta[th]=āhaṁ ch=aiva Vishṇuś=cha Vra(Bra)hmā cha nilayaṁ gatā[ḥ] //*

* 645 Block 'O', New Alipore, Calcutta—53.

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In place of °*m=abhi*°, I previously read °*m=agi*(*bhi*)°; but *bh* here belongs to the type of the letter in °*labhyatē* below and not to that of *Bhagavatā* above. What has been read as *ne*(*u*), may probably be the initial vowel *u*.

The passage in prose at the beginning introduces the second verse as the saying of Lord Mahādēva (Śiva). The god's words quoted in the stanza say that, "purification [of our images] was achieved by throwing [them] into fire, so that myself, Vishṇu and Brahman have gone [back now] to our temple (*nilaya*)'.

It seems that some people desecrated the images of Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahman worshipped in a temple at Skandar, that the sculptures were purified by throwing them into fire, and that thereafter they were reinstalled in the temple for the resumption of worship. The priests appear to have created a myth that this was done according to the wishes of the god Mahādēva or Mahēśvara (Śiva), which had been somehow revealed to them.

The inscription has also been studied by two other scholars, besides Mr. Yamada. The reading and interpretation of the second stanza offered by Mr. Yamada before myself and by Dr. G. S. Gai[2] and Dr. V. V. Mirashi[3] after the publication of my views are quoted below so that interested readers may get an opportunity of comparing our reading and interpretation with those of the other scholars.

Yamada understood the concluding part of the stanza read by him as *daiva Vishṇuśya*(*sya*) *Brahmā cha nilayaṁ gatā* (?) to mean :

"To the dwelling of the God (Mahēśvara), Vishṇu, Brahman, Unreachable for the foolish-hearted (?), I went (?)."

Gai's reading of the verse and its interpretation are as follows :

ya[*d=v=āgni*]*=mati* (*mūrtiḥ*) *pṛithivya*(*vyāṁ*) *visōramtē* (*saranty=u*) *palabhyatē* //
tad=v=āhaṁ ch=aiva Vishṇuś=cha Brahmā cha ti(*tri*)*-tayaṁ gatā* [*ḥ**] //

"Just as Agni is found to manifest or unfold [itself in different forms] in this world, so also Brahman, Vishṇu and myself manifest in three-fold forms".

According to Mirashi, the reading of the verse runs :

yad=v=ātimatim=utkshipya vi[*sta*(*stā*)]*rō n=ōpalabhyatē* /
tad=v=āhaṁ ch=aiva Vishṇuś=cha[*Bra*]*hmā cha* [*vi*]*layaṁ gatā* [*ḥ**] //

It means in his opinion, "Though the three gods created the universe, they are not

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noticed therein [even] though one may give up one's self-conceit, because they have disappeared from it."

Notes and References

1. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, 1972-73, pp. 2-4, where a few *aksharas* were read slightly differently.
2. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* or *Bhāratīya Purābhilekha Patrikā*, Vol. I, pp. 1-4; Vol. III, pp. 180-82.
3. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, December 1975, pp. 155-56.

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3

ŚITTANNAVĀŚAL AND EARLY INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMILNADU

K.R. Srinivasan*

The well-known place Śittannavāśal, famous for its ancient paintings, is located right in the heart of Tamilnadu, about 30 km south of Kāvērī, and 12 km north of the South Veḷḷāru, the traditional Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya boundary; it is not very far from the ancient Chera capital, Karūr in Koṅgumaṇḍalam on the west, some 60 km as the crow flies. Its strategic position as a centre for the diffusion of Jaina culture, and with it, the significant part it could have played in the development or diffusion of the Tamil alphabet, in the regions north, south and west of it is discussed in this article.

The place, today a straggling hamlet of the adjoining Annavāśal village (Aṇṇalvāyil of the Tēvāram, and inscriptions), has a long, large whale-backed hillock, stretching almost north-south. Its eastern face overlooks the village of Irum-pāḷi; its western face the village of Aṇṇalvāyil, while its southern tip touches the village of Panaṅguḍi. The hamlet itself lies on the north of its northern end. All the three villages, Irum-pāḷi, Aṇṇalvāyil and Panaṅguḍi are very ancient sites containing, as they do, the remains of a wide-spread megalithic complex, that carries their antiquity to the 3rd century B.C., if not earlier, and that is simultaneously indicative of a considerable population in those ancient times. The hill itself, a veritable repository of antiquities and inscriptions, rises with a low height on the south, the altitude increasing gradually towards north when, at about three-quarters of its north-south length, it reaches its maximum height, again to dip down suddenly into a low rock for the last quarter of its length beyond on the north. While the eastern flank is a sheer precipice from top to the ground, along the promontory, the western flank presents a vertical scarp down to three-fourths of its height from the crest, from which point it extends west as a slopy rock, easy to climb for one to reach the vertical rock face.

A large natural cavern on the eastern face precipice, locally called Eḷaḍippaṭṭam, situated near the top of the promontory, with another less commodious one to the

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south of it on the same face, and a large natural tarn (rock-pond of perennial sweet water, *Śuṇai*) on the same side, but lower down on the eastern slopes of the low rock at the northern extremity mark the eastern flank of the hill. The scarp on the western face, reached over the low rock in front, has the famous Jaina rock-cut Cave-temple, called 'Arivar Kōyil of Aṇṇalvāyil', cut at about the middle height of the rock while immediately to the south of it on top of the sloping rock in front is a smaller tarn (called Śuṇaikkuḷam, according to an old Tamil inscription on its bank) and three natural caverns, that are clefts almost but still habitable, overlooking the tarn. Further south, where the sloping rock with the tarn dips in height are the ruins of a structural, stone Śiva temple of the 10th-11th centuries A.D., while in Panaṅguḍi further south stands an early Pāṇḍya, all-stone, structural temple, the Agastīśvara (c. A.D. 860) as it is called today. In Annavāśal village itself are found the ruined site of a Jaina structural temple on the banks of a small tank called Paḷḷi-Ūraṇi (the sweet water tank *ūruṇṇi* attached to the *Paḷḷi*, or Jain temple) and two exquisitely carved Jaina icons of Tīrthaṅkaras of about the 10th century. There is a Śiva Temple, in worship in the village, called the Vṛiddha-purīśvara (Sanskritisation of Aṇṇal-vāyil) of about the 11th-12th centuries A.D. (Chōḷa) with inscriptions that mention the place as Aṇṇalvāyil. Besides, the same name is found in Appar's *Tēvāram* (*Tiruttaṇḍakam*—6th *Tirumurai*, v. 6961). The place was one of the battlefields mentioned in the Śendalai inscription of the Muttaraiya chief, Perumbiḍugu Śuvaran Māṛan (8th century A.D.).

The large natural cavern (*Amaṇ-pāḷi*), called Eḷadippaṭṭam locally, on the eastern flank and the adjacent *Śuṇai* or tarn, called Nāva-ch-chuṇai (meaning the tarn of the Jamboo or Nāval tree)[1] should have attracted the earliest occupants of the commodious and fairly inaccessible cavern, the Jaina recluses, to this flank of the hill, particularly, as early as the 2nd century B.C. This is clearly evidenced by the presence of the long Tamil-Brāhmī inscription on two sides of the largest among the polished stone beds in it. The inscription consists of 39 letters and is read as :

e ru mi nā ṭu ku mu ḷ (ḷ ?) ū r pi ra
n tā ka vu ṭi ī te ṇ Ku Ch i ru pā
vi l i ḷa ya r Che y ta a ti ṭ a ṇa m

This inscription is quite informative in giving the name, rank, activities (Brāntā-peripatetic recluse) and native place and name of the person for whom the abode (adiṭṭāṇam) was intended and the name and place name of the person or persons (Iḷaiyar of Chirupāvil[2] who got it made for the purpose. Since this inscription has been re-interpreted by us, in the light of its latest reading by I. Mahadevan, and discussed in detail in a forthcoming publication, we take here only the name of the place Chirupāvil, the native place of the Iḷaiyar donor (donors) into consideration. This name, obviously, should be the same as that of the site of the hill itself. As stated earlier, this east flank overlooks the village of Irum-pāḷi meaning the greater-Pāḷi, as opposed to the possible name of the associated hamlet at the foot of the hill itself being Chiru-Pāḷi—(the lesser Pāḷi) or (Chiru-Pāḷil-Śirupāḷiil)

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referring to the Kuḍiyiruppu or hamlet attached to the bigger place. If this can be so, the reading Chirupāvil may be a mislection for Churupāḷ-il. Incidentally we have evidences to believe that Irumpāḷi was a larger town in ancient times, that was fortified and had an ancient stone temple of considerable size, dating before A.D. 1200. The temple is now in ruins.[3] The cavern should have been occupied during the succeeding centuries by Jaina recluses, as the many other polished stone beds of smaller dimensions would indicate. Such polishing of hard stone like quartzose-gneiss was a technique introduced in Aśōkan times in the interiors of the large Ājīvika caves (Lōmas Rishi—etc.) round Gaya in Bihar, (a process that was extended even to the sandstone columns and sculptures in Mauryan and Gupta times). This process, evidently, was picked up in the Tamil country and Ceylon for we find it employed, coevally, in the fashioning of the polished stone beds in the natural caverns. The process thus could have continued in the Tamil country and Śittannavāśal upto about the 5th-6th centuries, when again we have in the same cavern more than half a dozen inscriptions near some of the other beds in characters generally called 'archaic Tamil' Script. A few more such inscriptions, that are yet to be read and published, have been discovered recently in the cavern that is devoid of beds, on the south of the large natural cavern, the Eḷaḍippaṭṭam, that forms the principal feature on this side of the hill. This corpus of inscriptions, that are short labels mostly giving the names of porsons (the monks) and their place names etc., takes one palaeographically through the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Perhaps the palaeography of the label read 'Toḷakkuṇrattu-kaḍavuḷaṇ Tirunīlaṇ, is very archaic. Another read as Ti-ṭ-ṭai-ch-chāṇa-ṇ ('Tiṭṭai-ch-chāṇaṇ' meaning Chāṇaṇ of Tiṭṭai) is again interesting in that first the letter Ti is preceded by a *puḷḷi*, the second letter *t* (basic consonant) has a *puḷḷi* over it as also the last letter (basic) *n*. A puḷḷi precedes it (after *na*), beyond its base, and, again, next to the last letter is a large '*comma*' or hook-like symbol. This alone would call for a closer comparative study of this with similar cases in the context of the *Tolkāppiyam* (ancient Tamil grammar) *sūtra* on the use of the *puḷḷi*. Beyond just indicating this line of research we need not elaborate on the subject here in the present article. The student of palaeography studying the development of the Tamil Brāhmī script from the time of the 'early' as exemplified by the Eḷadippaṭṭam inscription, here, to the time of the appearance of records in the 'archaic Tamil Script' on the same side of the hill, again here, of the 5th (?), 6th, 7th centuries A.D., can have the gap easily filled up by the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions in the 'early', 'middle' and 'late' scripts found in the natural caverns with beds on the hills of Koṅgār-puliyaṅuḷam, Karuṅkāḷakkudi, Trivātavūr and Kīḻavaḷavu in the adjoining Melur Taluk of Madurai District, in Kuṇṇakudi in Ramanathapuram District, Pukaḷūr (Arunāṭṭārmalai) and Aivarmalai near Karūr, in Trichirāpaḷḷi town and in the recently discovered inscription from Puāṅkurichchi (Ramanathapuram District), the longest inscription, perhaps, in that script, all within a radius of 50 km from Śittannavāśal on the south, west, and north of it. In fact the area to the south and west of Śittannavāśal touches the common boundary of the territories of the Pāṇḍyas, Chōḷas, and the Karūr Chēras, where the buffer principalities of the Vēḷirs were located—for example,

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the Irukkuvēḷs of Kodumbāḷūr, the Vañchivēḷs (referred to in the inscription of Vikramakēsari) whose capital Vañchimāngaram is some 10 km to the west of Kodumbāḷur (between Virālimalai and Kodumbāḷūr, on the west of the trunk road), the Vēḷs of Vēḷirmalai (Vēḷamalai in Maruṅgāpuri—the source of the Veḷḷāru river), the Vēḷir of Tuvarai (Thuvaraṅkuṛichchi, further south on the Trichi-Mēlūr-Madurai trunk road, beyond and a little towards Mēlūr, Aḷumbil Vēḷs Aḷumbil (modern Ambukkōil) and the Nāñjil Vēḷs of Nāñjūr) both within 20 km on the north-east of Kodumbāḷur. Most of these Vēḷs are referred to in Śaṅgam works.

Reverting to Śittannavāśal and the eastern flank of the hill with Chiṛu-pāḷi (i) at its foot overlooking the town of Irumpāḷi, the occupation by monks seems to have ceased by the 7th century, as the last of the Tamil inscriptions on this side would indicate.

Judging from the provenance of the Tamil script inscription on the western side, covering, in close continuation, the subsequent period up to the close of the 9th century A.D., the venue should have shifted exclusively to this western flank, overlooking Aṇṇalvāyil (Annavāśal). The total shift from the eastern side of the hill to its western side could have been occasioned by the intrusion of the Śaivites, who, baling out the water from the Navachchuṇai tarn, the source of sweet water for the Eḷadappaṭṭam monastic resort, excavated a rock-cut Śiva cave-temple. It is no more than a simple circular cell with a *liṅga* on a circular *pīṭha* (*avuḍaiyār*—both cut *insitu* out of the rock at the centre of the cell)[4] called Jambukēśvara. The presence of a submerged *liṅga* temple, would, in the eyes of the orthodox Jain, be a desecration or pollution of the tarn waters. A similar case would be the almost coeval cessation of the Jaina establishment on the Mēlamalai, Nartāmalai, 12 km to the north-east of Śittannavāśal, where the rock-cut Jaina cave-temple, had to be abandoned as also the natural cavern, some 30 metres to the south (now a Muslim Dargāh), when on the inner wall of the rock tarn, locally called Talavaraśiṅgam, (a little to the north of the cave-temple called Śamaṇar Kuḍagu), was excavated into as a rock-cut cell, with rock-cut *liṅga* and *avudaiyār* complete. This roo, as in the Navachchuṇai of Śittannavāśal, remains submerged, becoming visible only when the water is baled or pumped out. The *liṅga* is called here Jvaraharēśvara, possibly because he is kept cool under water and as such wards off the fever (Jvara) of devotees.

The most outstanding instance, however, will be the Pāṇḍya rock-cut cave-temple of Malaiyaḍikurichi in Tirunelveli District, in the interior of the Pāṇḍya country, which according to its foundation inscription (discovered by us), was excavated by a chieftain, in the 17th regnal year of King Māran Śēndan (A.D. 670). It forms the first, ever, excavated Pāṇḍya rock-cut cave-temple, with a clear date and with an implied statement, in the inscription, that it was the first of the Pāṇḍya series. The inscription particularly calls it Kar-rirukkōyil or 'sacred stone temple', even as Mahēndra Pallava's classical inscription on his Maṇḍagappaṭṭu cave-temple implies that it was the first of its kind excavated by the Pallavas in (c. A.D. 600). The Malaiyaḍikurichi cave-temple, judging from the wantonly damaged Jain sculptures on

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the rear wall of its *maṇḍapa*, the still extant sculptural vignettes on its front pillars that have escaped damage, and other circumstantial evidences, was originally a Jaina dedication when it was founded. But soon, and that too within half a century, it was converted into a Śiva temple by the planting of *liṅga* with *pīṭha* in its sanctum floor after chiselling off of the Jaina reliefs on the rear wall of the *maṇḍapa* flanking the shrine entrance. Two later Pāṇḍya inscriptions (*A.R.E.*, 607, 608 of 1915) inscribed on the place of the chiselled off Jaina relief on the south, too, refer to the temple as one of Śiva.[5] But the most significant feature of the Malaiyaḍikurichi cave-temple, originally a Jaina temple, is that the foundation inscription is in 'Tamil script' as against the Vaṭṭeḻuttu that prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country. The subsequent Vaigai bed inscription, and others that followed in point of time, as also those in all the Jaina hill sites, too, of the Pāṇḍya country, and the Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants are exclusively in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script. This feature continued till the end of the first Pāṇḍyan empire and the occupation of Pāṇḍya country by the Chōḷas. The advent of its administration under the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys in the 11th century brought into this area the 'Tamil' script as developed from its archaic form found in the Jaina site of Sittannavāśal west flank and adjoining places.

Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam would appear to have derived its preference to the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script from the contiguous Koṅgumaṇḍalam on its north and west, where such script is found to have been in vogue, at least a century or two earlier than its first appearance in the Pāṇḍya area as evidenced by the Vaigai bed Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions. The Koṅgu area, comprising the western hilly parts of Tamilnadu, stretching from Chittoor down to the Palani-Dindigul hill ranges, located on the brink of the Mysore plateau, has the highest density of Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, those of Cheṅgam and Dharmapuri, being the earliest. Tamil inscriptions in this script are found to have spilled over into the adjoining Kolar area of Karnataka. The script persisted in Koṅgu, a century or more after its disappearance from Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, and, as it formed from the beginning the exclusive script of the Koṅgu-Chēra area, it persisted till about the same century or later in the Kerala area. Thus the tenacity, density and distribution would clearly indicate its homeland as Koṅgu, with affiliations to Karnataka to its west, and also possibly to the coevally developing Telugu-Kannaḍa scripts of that region. We shall have occasion to refer, briefly, to this anon.

Coming back to Śittannavāśal, we find that by the end of the 7th century, or so, the Jaina occupants shifted the venue of their activities to the western flank of the hill facing Annavāśal. This appears to have been triggered by the hostile Śaiva pressure on the east from Irumpāḻi, culminating in the excavation of a rock-cut cave-cell for Śiva under the waters of the Navachchuṇai on this side, that had sustained the Jains establishment on this side till then, for nearly ten centuries from 200 B.C. or so.

The present writer's intimate acquintance with Śittannavāśal and its neighbourhood for nearly half a century, close study of the topography, architecture, sculpture, epigraphy, paintings, antiquities and other related material, and revision of his earlier ideas in the light of accumulating evidence, has led him to conclude that the place,

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particularly the celebrated rock-cut cave-temple, has been faced with vicissitudes, which, from the concatenation of evidences, would fall into four phases. This could be judged from the history of the cave-temple, called 'Arivar Kōvil of Aṇṇalvāyil' in its own inscription. This name, incidentally emphasises the fact that this western flank of the hill was part of Aṇṇalvāyil as against the eastern flank that fell into the limits of Irumpāḷi. Briefly set out these four phases would be as follow :

The rock-cut cave-temple, started apparently as a Śaiva dedication late in the 7th or in the beginning of the 8th century with a rock-cut-*liṅga*, and circular *āvuḍaiyār* in the sanctum, occupying almost the entire floor space, leaving a narrow walk all round, as in all Pāṇḍya-cave-temples dedicated to Śiva. The ceiling over the *liṅga* was cut into a large umbrella, of almost the same circumference as the base of the *liṅga-pīṭha* below, the provision of such umbrellas over deities being a common feature of Pāṇḍyan iconography, (as perhaps derived from early Chāḷukyan contacts, confirmed by other such evidences too). The early Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription, found defaced and replaced by a palinepsest 'Tamil script' label reading 'Ulōkātittaṇ', on the inner face of the lower cubical part of the southern pillar of the rock-cut *maṇḍapa* facade also belonged to this period and perhaps referred to the original Śaiva temple.

This was converted soon into a Jaina temple (exactly the reverse of what happened in Malaiyaḍikurichi). In the process the *liṅga*, alongwith its circular pedestal, was chiselled off entirely, as could be seen by the circular chisel-line mark on the floor and the flanking of its inside, so as to make it even with the rest of the original narrow walking space of the floor all round. But the large umbrella on the ceiling was retained, for it was equally an important symbol on the Jainas, though it was not a three-tiered *trichhatra*. Simultaneously, three Jaina bas-reliefs (finished in the rough) were cut over the horizontal middle line of the rear wall of the sanctum, all almost identical in form and pose but with the northern and middle ones under *trichhatras*, indicating them to be Tirthaṅkaras, and the southern one with a single-tiered *chhatra*, denoting it to be that of a Chakravartin or Āchārya, possibly the first of the two. The manner in which these three sculptures are cut, in the counter-sunk mode, into an earlier smoothly finished plane wall face is self evident from the fact that their frontal plane is on the same level as that of the wall below, (retained to act as the common pedestal for the three, though plain) and the strips that are remnants of the original hind wall framing the sculptures on the sides and over the top line. These would all indicate that the three reliefs, finished rough (as if in a hurry) to be covered over by smooth stucco, are secondary and not original to the sanctum. The setting up of the three principal images of worship in the sanctum as reliefs on the back wall, in preference to their installation as separately made icons on pedestals on the floor of the sanctum, accord with the prescription and practice found scruplously followed in all the early cave-temples of the Pallavas, Chāḷukyas, Pāṇḍyas, Muttaraiyars etc. It was only the Śiva-liṅga with its pedestal, either both rock-cut (out of the same live rock) or the latter alone, or both separately made, that is found installed on the centre of the floor of the sanctum. Even in later times, when icons,

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instead of being cut on the back-wall, or placed against it, as earlier, came to be installed in more forward positions in the sanctum, they were erected, just behind the transverse median (*madhya-sūtra*) of the sanctum floor.

This initial conversion into a Jaina shrine after removal of the *liṅga* and erasure of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription (which incidentally was exotic to this area of Tamilnadu, even as the 'Tamil script' foundation inscription was in the Malaiyaḍikurichi area), was followed by improvements. These resulted in the addition of the two perfectly finished bas-relief, *dēvakōshṭha* icons of Pārsvanātha, and Āchārya, in fully-formed *dēvakōshṭhas*, cut in the same counter-sunk or intaglio fashion, on the north and south walls of the west-facing rock-cut *maṇḍapa*, fronting the shrine cell. These two were, in addition, labelled 'Ulōkādittan' (Pārśvanātha) and Tiruvāśiriyan (Holy Āchārya) by inscriptions in almost 'archaic' Tamil/script, on the inner faces of the lower *śaduram*s of the two *maṇḍapa* facade pillars, coming in front of either *dēvakōshṭha*. The architectural finish of the *dēvakōshṭhas* with fully moulded *adhiṣṭhāna*, side pilasters and *kapōta*-architrave contrast sharply with the rough finish and plain *pīṭha* common to the three sculptures in the sanctum. The simple bevelled corbels of the *dēvakōshṭha* pilasters, that are devoid of capitals too, contrast sharply with the *taraṅga* corbels of the facade pillars and pilasters, and the similar ones over the four pilasters, two each on either side of the shrine entrance. Such contrast is discernible in the uniform rectilinear and tetragenal shape of the *dēvakōshṭha* pilasters on the one hand and the *chitrakaṇḍa* shape of the pillars and pilasters of the *maṇḍapa* facade and shrine front on the other. The mouldings of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the two *dēvakōshṭhas*, too, do not accord with similar mouldings of the plinth part of the projected shrine front, nor are they continuous with the latter, as they should be if they were all designed at one time and as is usual in rock-cut cave-temples elsewhere. Further, one finds the two wings of the *maṇḍapa* rear wall, flanking the projected shrine entrance, mercilessly chiselled off and flanked (as one finds in the case of the large Jaina panels on the *maṇḍapa* rear wall flanking the shrine entrance in Malaiyaḍikurichi), leaving a roughly worked concave surface, as these should be if original. This was perhaps to eliminate unwanted reliefs that were there as appropriate to the original Śaiva dedication, as is the case with many Pāṇḍya and Muttaraiyar cave-temples. These two phases of transformation into a Jaina temple should have been in the interval between the late 7th and early 9th centuries A.D. (say between A.D. 680 and 815).

We come to firmer chronological grounds in the fourth phase. This relates to further extensive 'improvements' by Madurai Āśiriyaṇ, in the time, and for the merit, of the Pāṇḍya King Avanipaśēkhara Śri Vallabha (A.D. 815-862). The related inscription in Tamil verse and 'Tamil' script (with *puḷḷi* marks for the consonants) engraved on a smoothened face on the rock wall immediately to the south of the rock-cut *maṇḍapa* facade attests to this. Though flanked off in many places, particularly towards its end, the extant lithograph is quite intelligible. It relates to the works carried out by Madurai Āśiriyaṇ, after the removal of all that was faulty or offensive (Maṟṟum-ellā-kurram-nīkki are the actual words in the inscription) brightening

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up of the interior after 'renovation' of the '*akamaṇḍapam*' or rock-cut *maṇḍapa* (or it may even mean the whole rock-cut cave-temple including verandah and cell—since the name '*maṇḍapa* temple' is often found applied to the whole) by plastering the walls and ceilings and laying the paintings (as extant) over the plaster, covering, the sculptures with painted stucco and works of like nature, and constructing the stone structural *mukha-maṇḍapam* in front. The moulded plinth of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* was excavated from the debris in front, by the present writer in 1940, and old pillars of suitable size height and length, as per clues determinable, were brought from the ruined *maṇḍapa* of the nearby Kuḍumiyānmalai temple and erected, and a stone slab roof was laid over it, inserted into the original chase found cut for the reception of their inner ends into the rock face above the facade. This horizontal chase cut on the scarp above the rock-cut *maṇḍapa* facade, indicating the manner and level of insertion of the roof slabs, was found to extend over the verse inscription of Madurai Asiriyaṇ, too, as was the moulded (*adhiṣṭhāna* of the structural *mukha-maṇḍapa* below, indicating that both were the works of the said person. The stone *padma*-abacus that would have been the top piece of the *mānastambha* ('*neḍum-tūṇ*), that Madurai Āśiriyaṇ, says he erected, was found in the debris as also a worn-out Brahmaśāstā icon that was originally seated over abacus, which has now found place in the present Śāstā (Aiyanār temple), a late structure built on ground level on the south of the cave-temple. It is significant to note that the plaster laid at this stage covered the two labels on the inner faces respectively of the lower *śadurams* of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* (*akamaṇḍapa* of the inscription), namely, the one reading 'Ulōkādittan' (which was already a palimpsest over an earlier Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraph purposely defaced) and 'Tiruvāśiriyaṇ'. Evidently they had served their purpose and could be covered over by plaster and paint, possibly with the labels too written in paint. It is because the plaster has peeled off in these places (leaving enough clues to their original existence though) that we could see and read these two earlier inscriptions. Incidentally it may be said that Madirai Āśiriyaṇ's painting work which extended into the sanctum as well, is found covering an earlier painted canopy design on thin plaster, stretched on the strip of the sanctum ceiling behind the brim of the central umbrella and in front of, and over, the head of the three icons in the sanctum and coeval with them. It is this long verse inscription that gives the name Arivar Kōyil (temple of the Arhat) to the cave-temple.

It was during these three successive phases of reconversion into a Jaina temple that the inscriptions though short ones, palaeographically assignable to the 7th, 8th centuries came to be inscribed on this western side of the hill on the rock surface close to and south of the Arivar Kōyil and below the three smaller natural caverns on the the scarp above, and the tarn, (evidently formed by enlarging a pre-existing natural cleft). All these clearly indicate the shifting of the Jainas from their earliest occupation on the other side of the hill and concentration of their activities here on the western side extending eventually into the more hospitable Annavāśal which it overlooks. The special label reading 'Śuṇai-kuḻam' (tarn-pond) would emphasize the bringing into use of this small sweet water

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tarn, at the same time. The 9th century verse inscription of Madirai Āśiriyaṇ is the last on this side of the hill. The presence of the 10th, 11th century Jaina idols of exquisite form and finish, the remains of an ancient temple at the site, and the name Paḷḷi-ūraṇi (tank of the Paḷḷi) near which they are found, and reference to 'Paḷḷi-chandam's in the Annavāśal inscriptions all attest to the fact of Annavāśal becoming a stronger Jain centre in the time of Chōḷas than Irumpāḷi, where no early or later Jaina vestiges have been found. The Tēvāram hymn of Appar (6961) specifying Aṇṇalvāyil as one of the places 'where Śiva, who would protect him by warding off the influence of the Jainas (Kaḍuvāyar) and save him, abides,' becomes significant in the context. In the days of the tolerant Chōḷas there was no such bigotry and Jainism, as also Buddhism, were patronised and their temples and institutions, as also endowments of lands to them, found an equal and secure place along with those of the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. It would look as if the Jainas, came down into the Annavāśal village, establishing their Paḷḷis, by the 11th century when the west flank of the Śittannavāśal hill was abandoned by them finally, coinciding with the erection of the Pāṇḍya structural all-stone temple in Panaṅgudi (c. A.D. 860) in the south of the hill and the advent of a slightly later stone temple of Śiva on the west flank at a point south of the Arivarkoyil, where the slopping rock in front dips down, and near which the modern Aiyanār or Śāstā temple stands.

Thus from the density of inscriptions in 'archaic-Tamil' script and the succeeding 'Tamil script' from (in all the inscriptions) all of them occuring in one place in Śittannavāśal, which was continously a seat of Jaina literati and scribes, one is tempted to take this place, and area, as the cradle, and nursery too, of the script. The earlier link with later Tamil-Brahmī obtains in the Pūlāṅkurichi record nearby while, besides Śittannavāśal, we have early 8th century Tamil script epigraphs in Kuḍumiyānmalai, Trimayam and Malaiyakōvil, associated as colophons to the Musical notations inscribed in Pallava-grantha script (Kudumiyanmalai and Tirumayam) and with the Pallava grantha '*Parivādini-ē*' labels in Tirugōkarṇam, Tirumayam (upper cave-cell) and Malaiykōyil, in addition to kuḍumiyāṇmalai and Tirumayam (lower Śiva cave-temple). Another would be the inscription on the rock to the south of the Arumaikkuḷam (Aṇimadaēri) at the foot of Mēlamalai in Nārttāmalai. We may add to this list the 'archaic script' and 'early Tamil' inscriptions on the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi rock (again a Jaina centre). All these occuring in a compact area offer material enough to trace the genesis and follow the evolution of the Tamil script, which await such detailed study by scholars yet.

This becomes significant and important, since, further south and on the west, it is Vaṭṭeḻuttu that prevailed while in the north, in the Chōḷa maṇḍalam there is a hiatus and in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the early Tamil script records are rare, found in a few places only such as in Vallam (cave-temples) and Tirukkaḷukkuṇram (Orukal-maṇḍapam) of the times of Pallavas-Mahēndra and Māmaḷḷa (*c.* A.D. 580-670). The cumulative evidence tends to point out to the Jain literati and scribes of the Tiruchi-Śittannavāśal belt as the fore-runners in the adoption and development of the rectilinear type 'Tamil script' perhaps as a development of the Pūlāṅkurichi script as

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opposed to the cursive Vaṭṭeḻuttu or Vaṭṭam script. The Vallam Tirukkaḻukkuṇram inscriptions on the one side in the far north, and the solitary intrusive example of the Malaiyaḍikurichi inscription in the far south, can be dated with some certainty as between A.D. 580 and 670. These can, basically form the datum line for assessing the dates of the 'archaic Tamil script' inscriptions concentrated in the Śittannavāśal-Tiruchirāpaḷḷi area that lies in between the extreme locii. Also, one may accept the proposition that the focus was this central area, from which it could have radiated to the locii, north and south. If this line of thought and reasoning is accepted it will be for epigraphist-palaeographist scholars to collect the corpus and analyse the material to arrive at a precise understanding and scientific apprehension of the genesis and development of this type of script, which eventually pervaded the whole of Tamilnadu (with extensions into Sri Lanka, the southern Andhra and eastern Karnataka in Chōḷa times), and persisted in its evolving forms till the advent of the printing press, when the type faces for Tamil script were set permanently, stopping further changes or modifications.

Before closing, a brief notice of Vaṭṭeḻuttu, in the above background, may be made. The general assumption is that both Vaṭṭeḻuttu and 'Tamil scripts' developed out of later 'Tamil-Brahmī'. Their geographical or regional distribution too is distinct. The ubiquity and concentration of Vaṭṭeḻuttu in the Koṅgu area with the earliest inscriptions occurring in Cheṅgam and Dharmapuri bordering on the Mysore plateau and its southern limit extending to the very Cape of Kanyā Kumari, added to the cursive nature of the letters, would all lead one to suspect affinity to the affiliation with the Kannaḍa (Haḷa Kannaḍa), Telugu and Sinhalese scripts, which all, including later Malayālam, are of the 'Cursive' type. Among the Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraphs of the Cheṅgam-Dhamapuri-Kōlar-Complex are a few which are bilingual—in Tamil and Kannaḍa, like the Rosetta stone. There is one more, also, though late, from Śamaṇar Malai (Madurai District). A close study of the characters employed in either version of the bilingual epigraphs, particularly the proper names, by scholars proficient both in Haḷe-Kannaḍa and Tamil language and epigraphy, may perhaps yield interesting results. Likewise, a comparison with contemporary early Sinhalese-Prakrit script by polyglot epigraphists may be useful, even as has been demonstrated to be the case with Tamil-Brahmi and its counterpart in Śri Lanka, recently by I. Mahadevan.

Notes and References

1. It is interesting to note the association of the Nāval tree, particularly the Veṇ-nāval (white Jamboo fruit tree), with the 10th century Jaina temple at Cheṭṭippaṭṭi which is called Tiruveṇ-ṇāyil in its inscription, and the same name Veṇṇāyil as also applied to the famous Śiva temple of Jambukeśvaram in the Śriraṅgam island in Tiruchirāppaḷḷi. The *liṅga* temple inside this tarn is also called Jambukeśvaram as we shall see anon.
2. We accept I. Mahadevan's reading (*Seminar on Inscriptions*, Madras, 1966) of the place name 'cirupāvil' in modification of our earlier reading 'citupōcil' (K. R. Srinivasan; *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, Translated into English*, Part I, No. 1).

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3. See *Puḍukkōṭṭai State Inscriptions* (Texts). It is stated (K. R. Venkataraman—*A Manual of the Puḍukkōṭṭai State*—Revised Vol. II, Part II, p. 1024, under 'Irumbāḷi') that the stones from this ruined temple were used in bunding the Pallavaṇ (Pallavarāyaṇ) tank in Puḍukkōṭṭai town.
4. The cave-temple is called Jambukeśvaram, since it occurs in the Nāval-chuṇai. It is not ordinarily visible as the Chuṇai fills up and so is under water, again a similarity to the condition obtaining for the *Appu-liṅga* (water *liṅga*) called Jambunātha in Tiruvānaikōyil or Jambukeśvaram in Tiruchirāppaḷḷi. Again such simple rock-cut cells with rock-cut *liṅgas*, and without a front rock-cut *maṇḍapa* is a common feature in the Pāṇḍya, Muttaraiyar and Kerala areas of the 8th-9th centuries.
5. Such instances of Śaivas or Vaiṣṇavas capturing Jaina sites and places of worship and converting them to their own creed are many, and they are closely related to the contemporary context of Hindu-Jaina rivalry, and the evangelical mission of the Śaiva Nāyanmārs and Vaiṣṇava Alvars. Without going into details we can mention such conversion in the Tirupparaṅkuṇram cave-temple (now called Subrahmaṇya cave-temple) and the Āṇḍārmaḍam cave-temple on the other (north) side of the hill and again the Ānaimalai Viṣṇu cave-temple and the Lāḍan Kōil cave-temple which as new excavations of a noval creed pushed the Jainas to places higher up on the hill, (in both these we have datable inscriptional evidences). Even Mahendra Pallava, the pioneer in the line, chose for the location of many of his rock-cut cave-temple reputed Jaina hills, as observed by us in '*Pallava Architecture*', Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi (Introduction).

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SANSKRIT IN INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMILNADU

K.G. KRISHNAN*

पुस्तकालय

The use of Sanskrit in the written tradition of India begins sometime in the second half of the first century B.C. in Northern India. Prakrit was used in all the inscriptions right from the times of Aśōka, though the existence of Sanskrit in other media is too well known to be emphasized here. This may be largely due to the fact that the preponderence of Jain and Buddhist activities led to the use of a medium like Prakrit which was more popular and natural than Sanskrit. The re-emergence of Vēdic religion from about the first century B.C. led to the use of Sanskrit. Initially the Prakrit inscriptions began to be influenced by Sanskrit leading to the so-called mixed dialect. Prakrit slowly gave way to Sanskrit. The same process was evident in South India though only in later times. The Sātavāhana and Kshatrapa inscriptions show traces of Sanskrit influence while their texts mostly contained a framework of Prakrit structure. The inscriptions of Ikshvākus began to use Sanskrit. The leanings of the Ikshvāku kings towards Vēdic religion are too well-known through the assumption of epithets, though their queens, women-folk and most of the common people recorded their gifts in Prakrit language thus proving that royal patronage more than popular preference enabled Sanskrit to emerge as the court language and the language of inscriptions. This process went on alongside till Prakrit was totally eliminated from epigraphy in South India from about the 4th century A.D. These observations pertain only to the situation obtained in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh upto this period.

Neither Sanskrit nor Prakrit is seen used in the Tamil country from the period when inscriptions began to appear i.e., from about the 3rd century B.C. The experiments in evolving a system of writing Dravidian material were going on as revealed by the Bhaṭṭiprōlu casket inscription in Prakrit in Andhra Pradesh and in the inscriptions in Tamil language at Meenakshipuram (Māṅguḷam) engraved on the caves of the caverns at that place. We do not meet with material in Telugu or Kannaḍa till about the 4th or 5th centuries respectively. When they appear the

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alphabet is a complete absorption of the Sanskritic alphabet retaining the extra Dravidian letters of *r̤*, *l̤* and *l̤*. But in he case of Tamil language it is found that we miss the use of *varga* letters i.e., the soft consonants and also the arrangement of the composite consonants by clubbing the two or three in one form (*saṁyukt-akṣhara*). The aforesaid Meenakshipuram (Māṅguḷam) inscriptions as also the one from Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi have used the letters *sa*, *śa* and *dha* of the Prakritic alphabet. *All* the other inscriptions engraved in the characters of the same period do not use even these letters thus proving the initial attempts to introduce the Sanskritic or Prakritic alphabet and the subsequent practice of avoiding their use. The *saṁyukt-aksharas* are written in Tamil by using the dot over the stop consonants and writing the other one or two full consonants alongside without the dot. This practice of avoiding the *varga* letters did not isolate the Tamil language from being enriched. It was no doubt developing of its own accord due to the intense activities of the people under the leadership of the three royal families of the Chēra, the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya who are referred to in the Aśōkan Edicts. The cultural streams from the north were knocking at the doors of the Tamil country thus making the absorption of ideas and consequently the words associated with them unavoidable. Therefore they allowed the use of the words from the north (*vaḍaśol*) after removing the *northern* letters i.e., the extra letters representing the middle three letters of the five *vargas* beginning from *kha* to *bha* and also the letters *sa*, *śa*, *sha* and *ha* and substituting them with *varga-prathama* letters. This process had apparently worked for a long time in the oral tradition of the Tamil people till it became the standard practice as reflected in the cave inscriptions referred to above. Ingenious indeed was this device which provided for the assimilation of Sanskrit or Prakrit words in the Tamil language without affecting its basic alphabet. Ultimately this situation is described in Talkappiyam, the ancient Tamil treatise of the pre-Christian era as follows while defining *vaḍaśol* i.e., the northern word :

Vaḍaśol kiḷavi vaḍav-eḷuttu orīi
eḷuttoḍu puṇarnda śoll=āgummē

Vaḍaśol is the northern word adopted in Tamil after substituting the northern letters by corresponding Tamil letters.

This process went on smoothly upto about the 6th century when the Pallavas emerged as the most powerful rulers driving out the Kalabhras. The migration of the Sanskrit knowing people including mainly the Vedic scholars represented by brāhmaṇas had been going on from very early times with intermittent breaks caused by the Jaina or the Buddhist missionaries under the Kalabhras. With the revival of the religious faiths based on the Vēdas the influence of Sanskrit language began to increase. The votaries of this language including the ruling family of the Pallavas found that there was no script which can be used to write Sanskrit passages or even full inscriptions couched in that language. The Pallavas invented the Grantha script at this stage by deriving the forms of Sanskrit letters from the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet already in use in Andhra and Karnataka. The doubling of the central stems at the base which

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is already evident in Ikṣhvāku inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa yielded the forms for *a*, *ā*, *ka*, *ra*, etc. Some of the letters like *u*, *o*, *ta*, *na*, *va*, etc., took the local forms obtained in the Tamil script. This is evident from the numerous epithets and label inscriptions found in Mahābalipuram, Tiruchirāppalli, Kāñchīpuram etc. The Pallava copper-plate charters beginning with the Pallarkoyil plates of Simhavarman issued in Tamilnadu began to have a Sanskrit preamble containing a genealogy and eulogy of the dynasty upto the reigning king and also a brief outline of the transaction, while their Tamil counterparts gave a legalistic text of the transaction with very few Sanskrit words written in Grantha script interspersed, followed by the well-known imprecatory verses. There are also a few stone inscriptions following this pattern but in a much shorter form.

There was another line of development alongside at this stage but mostly in the Pāṇḍya country where the *maṇiprāvāḷa* style made its appearance. This style involves the use of clusters of Sanskrit expressions along with fine Tamil expressions, sometimes set in the form of versified prose. The Madurai (Vaigai river bed) inscription of the second half of the 7th century is the first in the field. The Velvikudi plates that followed in the next century contain Tamil eulogistic verses freely using Sanskrit phrases. It is well-known that this style was put to greater use by the Vaiṣṇava commentators of the *Divya-Prabandham* and woven into the special dialect of their own.

The Chōḷas continued this practice in the charters issued by them such as the Velanjēri plates of Parāntaka I, the Anbil plates of Sundaraśōḷa, the Karandai plates and the Leyden (Anaimaṅgalam) plates of Rājendra, etc.

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5

ALLŪR AND ĪSĀNAMAṄGALAM REVISITED

R. TIRUMALAI

Professor Noboru Karashima has contributed a painstaking study of two South Indian villages of early Chōḷa Times based on the thirty stone inscriptions found in Allūr and Tiruchchendurai villages.[1] They are distributed as follows : 21 inscriptions relating to Īśānamaṅgalam from Chandrasēkhara Temple of Tiruchchendurai and 9 inscriptions which concern Allūr from the Paśupatīśvara Temple at Allūr. The villages adjoin each other. Allūr is located in the narrow strip of land lying in between Cauvery river and the Tiruchirapalli-Karūr Trunk Road and the railway line running alongside. By its location the low-lying lands in the north-eastern extremity of Allūr are liable to inundation by the river Cauvery when in floods especially in those earlier times when neither Cauvery nor its principal tributaries had been dammed in the reaches above the flat plains.

Tiruchchendurai, if we could project back from its present location, largely lay to the south of the trunk road referred to and did not appear to have suffered the above disadvantage.

Prof. Karashima has taken pains to interpret a number of terms occurring in these inscriptions and has approached them from a somewhat statistical angle to get at inferences. The inferences are drawn on the nature of the holdings, whether individual or not, and also the shares of yield belonging to the King or the chieftain, and the Temple and the role of the *ūrār*.

Prof. Karashima's paper is very carefully worded with a good deal of study of the texts of the inscriptions and his conclusions fully reveal the scholarly hesitancy to generalise. Nevertheless on a critical and circumspect examination of the evidence, the conclusions extracted in the Appendix could bear some revision and this article indicates the possible areas for such revision.

Both the townships have thrown up evidence dating back to early Chōḷa Times of Parakēsari and Rājakēsari. The Irukkuvēḷ Chieftains of Koḍumbāḷūr who had political and matrimonial alliances with the Chōḷas figure prominently among the

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donors and benefactors. Īśānamaṅgalam was throughout a Brahmadēya village. The Allūr Śiva Temple is located in an *ūr* or agricultural township but it was also later described as Brahmadēya. Presumably the agrahara part of the village, called Tiruvaḍakuḍi, was founded later and its Sabhayār also participated in the temple affairs from the time of Rājarāja I. There was one other principal resident-group, the *nagara* merchants including oil-mongers who lived within a walled habitat. In the following account the history of the two townships is traced, as revealed in the inscriptions. The aim is to let the epigraphs (arranged as far as ascertainable in chronological sequence) speak for themselves and where appropriate, set in focus the inferences that can be drawn from the evidence.

ĪŚĀNAMAṄGALAM

The earliest inscription is dated 2nd year of Parakēsari.[2] In that year on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Bhūti Āditta Piḍāri, a lady of the Irukkuvēḷ Chieftain family of Koḍumbāḷūr endowed 4 parcels of garden lands to the deity at Tiruchchendurai for festival expenses and for the temple servants. The lands endowed were acquired in the following manner :—

(*i*) garden land purchased by the donor from Vāchchiyan Śēndan Śuvaran—2 parcels,

(*ii*) a garden land purchased by her from Tiruveḷḷarai Pādakarai Murugan Saḍaiyan and others,

(*iii*) a garden land for which the donor had stood surety given on a usufructory mortgage (Oṛṛi Kalamāyappuṇai Koṇḍanavum) made by the same parties who sold item (ii) which she got relieved by paying gold to Nīla Nārāyaṇan (perhaps, the mortgagee) and also to the wife of Nārāyaṇan Śudan and endowed to the deity. She endowed to the temple these parcels of land.

The boundaries of the garden land were : to the south of the bund called karikāla Karai; to the east of the big street passing towards the south; north of the land owned by Kumaran Kādan; and also to the east of the lands covered by Vāttūṇi Māraṅgāttan and (Kāśyapan) Nārāyaṇan and to the north-east of Viḍēlviḍugu-maṅgalam township boundary.

In the same year, Bhūti Āditta Piḍāri endowed two additional garden lands on the occasion of the Sūryagrahaṇa. (*i*) A garden purchased in the same year by the donor for 75 *kaḷanju* from Kachchuvan Dattaṇārāyaṇan, and a second garden purchased by her from Bhāradvājan Īśāna Māran. They were endowed for defraying the expenses of the festivals in the stone temple she had erected for Śiva at Tiruchchendurai[3] and the endowed lands carried with them the same rights as the donor had acquired through the purchases.

Bhūti Āditta Piḍāriyār who had caused the construction of the stone temple, had acquired a garden land from one Vēḷkōvan, called Ūr-vilayan garden, and a garden

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and house-site have been conveyed to her by the Sabhayār for her residence, called Eastwall garden. She conveyed these two gardens on the same terms on which they were obtained by her to the temple for "Bhūmaram", and for the cultivators of the deity's lands for their residential quarters on the occasion of a Sūryagrahaṇa. This inscription though undated could be ascribed to about the 2nd year of Parakēsari.[4]

In the 3rd year of Parakēsarivarman, Bhūti Ādichcha-Piḍāri, daughter of Tennavan Ilaṅgōvēḷ and wife of the Chōḷa prince, Arikulakēsari gave 60 *kaḷanju* pon to the Paruḍayār of Īṣānamaṅgalam for provisioning for the temple, she had erected at Tiruchchendurai. The gold deposit had carried an interest at Tūṇi, paḍakku, Paddy per *kaḷanju* per harvest—thus in a year : 90 kalams of paddy to be measured at 30 kalams in Kārtigai (October-November) and another 39 kalams in Piśānam in the month of Paṅguni (March-April). This could indicate that some of the wet lands were already yielding two crops in a year. The Paruḍayār undertook to deliver this paddy at kuruṇi paddy of old rice (at recovery rate of rice to paddy) of 8 : 10 per day for food offerings and for midday service.[5]

From this evidence the following inferences can be drawn. The tract has had townships founded even in late Pallava times and one township was named after Royal sign-manual of the Pallavas. A number of Brahmins, of various Gōtras, Kāśyapa, Vāsuyan (Vajasanēya ?), Kauśika, Bhāradvāja and others had already settled and had owned lands in individual and several enjoyment. Rights of properties were defined, and lands were brought and sold and made usufructory mortgage of or even had descended on women from whom titles could be acquired on purchase. The township had to its north an embankment, named after Karikāla, presumably to protect the lands and the township against the floods from river Cauvery. Bhūti Āditta Piḍāri was the daughter of Bhūti Vikramakēsari *alias* Tennavan Ilangōvēḷ *alias* Maravan Bhūtiār and sister of Bhūti Āditya. She was married to the Chōḷa prince Arikulakēsari the son of the Chōḷa Emperor identical with Parakēsari Ariñjaya who ruled in A.D. 956-57. For raising the stone-temple and making provisions for the temple services and the temple servants and cultivators, the Sabhayār too were solicitous to the needs of the donor and the temple. This could be dated perhaps in about A.D. 909-10 in the first decade of the 10th century.

In the same year the wife of Tennavan Iḷaṇgōvēḷ *alias* (Marava ?)...n Bhūtiar, Nakkan Vikramakēsari of Koḍumbāḷūr had deposited 20 *kaḷanju* gold (tested by Viḍēlviḍugu touchstone) with the Paruḍayār (i.e. the Paruḍai in charge of Tiruchchendurai temple in the Brahmadēya Īśānamaṅgalam for a lamp service.[6]

In the 3rd year the Paruḍai of Īśānamaṅgalam endowed the land held in common by the Paruḍai (Paruḍainilattai) as Dēvadāna. It lay to the east of Ammaṇguḍi Township-boundary, and to the east of the East Street, to the west of the land owned by several Brahmins (Bhāradvāja) Nakkan Śattan and others, Bhādakāri Marudan Suṇḍan, Avani Nārāyaṇan and others to its north lay the lands of Kaccuvar

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Kanna Nakkan, Maitreyan Nārāyaṇan, Murugan, and others and Bhāradvāji Nārāyana Nakkan and to its south lay a field or channel-head, Maravanvāy.[7]

In the same year, another donor, Bhūti Kuḷichchi of Perayūr of Urattūr Kūrram purchased a land from a Brahmin, Arikan Nāraṇan Sōman of Sāttamaṅagalam, a Brahmadēya in Iḍaiyārrūr-nāḍu. The land was given as *Strīdhana* for his wife Nīlan Nāgai and was in the northern part of the wet lands in Īsānamaṅgalam. It was 2 *mā* in extent and sold for 10 *kaḷanju* of gold tested by Viḍelviḍugu (touchstone). The field had the following boundaries :

(*i*) to the east of the land endowed for the students or the inmates of the Maṭha;

(*ii*) to the west of the land endowed for the shrine of Tirupparātturai, an adjoining township;

(*iii*) to the south of the land owned by Kausigan Dattanaḷakēśvaran and others;

(*iv*) to the north of Avaniseṭṭi-dēvan.

The husband had acted as the guardian of the lady who had the title to the *Strīdhana* land, but she gave the receipt for the amount paid and endorsed the sale. The vendee endowed it for a lamp service in memory of her husband, Tōḍan Māṇikkan of Kīlvēḷūr and it was stipulated that the land dues thereon shall be paid as was appropriate for similar lands in the township.[8]

The data confirm private ownership of land and of women's right to receive property as *Strīdhana*. Perhaps as her husband belonged to a different village Sāttamaṅgalam. Nīlan Nāgai thought it convenient to dispose of her land in her parental village. The land was still an occupied holding liable to pay land-dues and the vendee while endowing the land for a lamp service in temple had stipulated that the land dues, as levied on the township lands, shall be paid and the residual yield-share appropriated for the lamp service. This was then a land bearing its dues to be paid from the produce and only the net yield was to be appropriated for the lamp service.

In the 4th year of Parakēsarivarman a garden land, 2000 *pātti* was purchased by Nangai Bhūti Āditta Piḍāriyār. The price paid was 37-1/2 *kaḷanju* of gold which included the capitalised amount as tax-vigil, from the proceeds of which the Paruḍayār undertook to pay the land-dues and discharge the customary obligations.[9]

Four years later the same lady purchased 1/4 *śey* (5 *mā* of land) which was (somewhat saline and low-lying—Paḷḷatil Neḍungaḷar) for 34-1/2 *pon* from Vācciyan Tīṭṭa Nārāyaṇan of Īsānamaṅgalam and endowed it for a lamp service.[10]

In the 9th year the Paruḍayār of Īsānamaṅgalam sold to the temple for 28-1/2 *kaḷanju* gold 473-1/4 *mā* of land together with the tank, to the north of Maṛavan channel which were paddy-yielding lands. The other boundaries were the known township boundaries. The Paruḍai undertook to pay the land-dues and other obligations.[11]

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Next year (10th) again Nangai Bhūti Āditya Piḍāriyar purchased for 7-1/2 *kaḷanju* (by Viḍēlviḍugu touchstone) from the Paruḍayār of Īsānamaṅgalam a land held in common by them (Paruḍainilam). To the east of the parcel ran the Ambala Street. A channel also ran to its east and to its north, and the western boundary was the known boundary of the village. A Tiṇai (Official of the Paruḍai) figures in this and other documents executed by the Paruḍai. On his behalf one Aṇikalan Kaliyaḍakki of Amutiyūr wrote the deed.[12]

From the evidence of the three transactions of the 3rd year, 9th year and 10th year, it could be inferred that in addition to the individual ownership of the lands held by the several Brahmin residents of Īsānamaṅgalam there were some blocks of lands held in common by the Paruḍayār. These were perhaps Dēvadāna lands not occupied by tenants. These common holdings (Paruḍai-nilam) were located at the western extremity of the township, abutting the village boundary of Amaṇgudi,[13] or at the extremity of the recognised Township boundaries.[14] The Paruḍayār were keen to dispose of those common holdings so that they could be brought to better beneficial enjoyment and they could be assessed to revenue, a rental demand to be borne by the vendees. The Temple gained in its capital resources by the sale price realised and the tax-vigil deposit and it also reduced its tax-burden, if any, and obligations by such sale. Also the purchaser benefactor could endow a share of the yield as well for the purpose.

In the 10th year, again, the same donor Nangai Bhūti Āditya Piḍāriyār deposited 28-1/4 *kaḷanju* of gold (tested by Viḍēlviḍugu touchstone) with the village-elders of the Brahmadēya (Brahmadēy kiḻavar). The object was to treat it as a tax-vigil deposit to defray the land-dues, and discharge other customary obligations. The lands were 1/4 *śey* or 5 *mā* in extent, which she had purchased,[15] and also the old Dēvadāṅa lands 1-1/4 *śey* located near the open head sluice (vāymaḍai). When converted into cultivable fields (nilam śeydu), the net extent on which land-dues were fastened was 1 *vēli* and 4 *mā*, i.e. 1 *mā* of land were taken up by field-bunds, and uncultivable patches or field channels. The township official Tiṇai-Dēsavallavan wrote the deed.[16]

In the same year, the same lady deposited 10 *kaḷanju* as tax-vigil with the Paruḍayār from the (proceeds of which) they agreed to defray the land-dues and other obligations on some lands held by the Temple in 850 '*Potti*' (Patti ?). By order of the Paruḍai and on behalf of Tiṇai Kaṇakkan Dēsavalluvan, the township Accountant wrote the deed.[17]

There was a similar undertaking by the Paruḍayār on receipt of tax-vigil deposit for the lands brought under wet cultivation by Nangai Bhūti Āditta Piḍāriyār and she was also allowed irrigation rights for the lands so brought under wet cultivation. Among the customary obligations undertaken occur *eccōru*—feeding the King's messengers, Kulaiveṭṭi, to do earthwork free to keep the river embankment in good repair, Koruppuveṭṭu, or raising bunds and earthen embankment work across the river at the head of openhead sluice for channel intake.[18]

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It could also be inferred that the unoccupied house-sites were at the disposal of the townships for allocation among those who took residence or who caused induction of tenants into the township to take up cultivation or other benefactors who were providing for the township temple and amenities.

By the 14th year of Parakēsarivarman, Īsānamaṅgalam had got separated from Uraiyūrkūrram and became a Brahmadēya in Taramburrūr nāḍu. Vācciyan Sāttan Suṇḍan sold a wet land in the southern block of lands, a land called Vada(north) vilaguvayyatsey. It comprised 2 bits—1/8 *śey* or 2-1/2 *mā*, which he had received as *Strīdhana*, and the other 2-1/2 *mā* he had himself purchased. Nangai Bhūti Āditta Piḍāriyar purchased the lands in the auction-centre where by midday-light land sales were transacted.[19]

Two years later, Nakkan Pōkki, son of Dēvanār of Tirubhūtīśvaram of Koḍumbāḷūr purchased a wet land by name Mūngilśey in the southern wet fields of Īsānamaṅgalam from one Vācciyan Nārāyaṇan for 30 *kaḷanju* gold. The boundaries of the land were :

> West of the land obtained as *Strīdhana* by Kachchuvan Nakkan Paramēśvaran and of the field channel flowing to that field. North of the land obtained as *Strīdhana* by Savanti Chandrasēkharan Nakkan and of the land of Bhādarayan Nakkan Kaṇḍan. East of the land owned by Bhāradarayan Nakkan Kaṇḍan and the channel of the Brahmadēya Township, and to the south of the Brahmadēya channel. The vendee endowed it for a lamp service to the deity at Tiruchchendurai.[20]

Īsānamaṅgalam seemed to be a Township of in-laws and there were several who received *Strīdhana* and some from without would have taken up residence after their marriage migrating from their home-towns, and some others who would not have sold their lands with the consent of their spouses.

In the 20th year, 39th day of Parakēsari Sembiyan Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Bhūti Āditta Piḍāran, the father of the builder of the temple, had endowed 2 *vēḷi* of land he had purchased in Īsānamaṅgalam as Irayili and on the same terms on which he had purchased the land.[21]

The Parakēsari inscriptions from the 22nd year onwards introduce us to the benefactors of the next generation from the same family.

In the 22nd year Ādityan Bhūti *alias* Madhuṛāntakan Irukkuvēḷ, son of Bhūti Āditya endowed as tax-free Dēvadāna the village of Tūvēḷimaṅgalam in Uṛaiyūr Kūrram for special services on his monthly native asterisk of "Puratṭādi".[22]

Next year on the 43rd day, his brother, Ādityan Tiruvorriyūradigaḷ *alias* Vīra Chōḷa Iḷangōvēḷ got married and gave 3 *vēḷi* of land as *Vivāha dakṣiṇā* (marriage gift) in the hands of a priest. Irāmanallūr Nambi *alias* Bhavarudrabhaṭṭan. The lands were in the village limits of Amaṇguḍi a village abutting the Brahmin township to its west. Twelve lamps were to be maintained at 1/4 *śey* for a lamp service.[23]

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In the same year, some 6-1/2 months later, Madhurāntakan Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Ādityan (Bhūti) granted a garden Kaṇakkudi Kōilār Tōṭṭam as tax-free Dēvadāna and on receipt of the chieftain's epistle, the Sabhayār recorded the grant deed in the temple.[24]

Five years later, a resident of the township Bhādarāyan Nakkan Kaṇḍan purchased 1 *mā* of land from the temple itself apparently for endowing it for a service.[25]

In the 30th year of Parakēśarivarman, Sembiyan Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Bhūti Āditta Piḍāran granted as Irayili Dēvadāna wet and dry lands in Panayūr Vāḻkkai Kaḷumalam. This grant was (*a*) to provide for 4 lamps 1/4 *śey* per 1 lamp—in all 1 *vēli* (*b*) to provide for bath with ghee on the donor's native asterisk every month, Uttirattāti @ 1 *nāḷi* of ghee which was priced at tūṇi paddy, and per month 10 *nāḷi* of ghee, i.e. equivalent of 3 kalam-tūṇi paddy and per year 120 *nāḷi* ghee equivalent of 40 *kalam*, (*c*) for offering green gram food offerings—6 *nāḷi* rice and green gram—2 *nāḷi*=Kuruni paddy; ghee—Uri=paddy Padakku; Plantain fruits 10=paddy 5 *nāḷi*, Ghee—3 palams=3 *nāḷi* paddy; Curry=2 *nāḷi* of paddy. Betel (*Teriilai*), 1 parru, betelnut 10. Thus in all in a month=Tūṇi, Padakku, and 6 *nāḷi*, per year: 6 Kalam, 2 Tūṇi, Kuruṇi of paddy. Total per year=46 kalam, 2 Tūṇi, Kuruṇi, which is equal to the yield from 9 *mā kkāṇi* araikkāṇi land; (*d*) for 2 yogis who perform Tiruvārādana Pūja in 3 services=daily at Tūṇi paddy=120 *kalams* per year being the rental from the vēli of land. The rate of rental stipulated works out to 6 *kalams* per *mā*; (*e*) for Panchamahāsabda, musical instruments played by a troupe: 9 persons=2-1/4 vēli; and (*f*) Seganḍi=1.

In all 5 *vēli* of land were endowed.[26]

The next bunch of inscriptions are dated 12th and 16th year in the reign of Madurai Koṇḍa Kō Parakēsari Parāntaka I (i.e. A.D. 919, 923).

In A.D. 919, a resident of the township Bāradarāyan Nakkan Kaṇḍan provided for a lamp service in the *sanctum sanctorum*. He purchased a land from the Sabhayār a parcel by name Avarruḍavai 1-1/2 *mā* (49-1/2 cents) in extent. It was irrigated by the western channel taking off from Allūr channel. The land was included in the block called Tōṭṭappaṭṭi of the village, and lay to the east of Amāṇkuḍi boundary, west of Maravan-Vāy (channel head ?), north of the lands owned by Atreyan Nakkan Ayyan and others, and to the south of those held by Kachchuvan Damodaran Nakkan and Dananambi. The *mūlaparuḍai* of the township undertook to maintain the service.[27] This could be close to the land endowed by the Parudai in the 3rd year of Parakēsarivarman.[28] He provided this land for meeting the expenses of the water-shed charity for which the river water had to be brought in and provided at the Kallambalam (stone-built common-place). The Mūlaparuḍayār were to protect the charity.[29] This evidence would clearly bring out that about A.D. 919-923, the lands on the extremity of the township abutting Viḍēl viḍugumaṅgalam and Amaṇguḍi were held in common by the Sabhayār and they had been sold, creating occupancy rights for being endowed by the vendee. Some of the lands held by the Paruḍayār in common[30] at the township extremity abutting Amaṇkuḍi were sold much earlier in

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the 3rd year of Parakēsari. As the channel flow was eastwards, some of the parcels perhaps, on a high level in the western extremity had been brought under occupancy much later than others to the east. Of course, from the available evidence, Īsānamaṅgalam lands were held more in private holdings and the lands still not so held in private ownership were scattered parcels at the extremity of the township abutting the other townships to the west.

The third bunch of inscriptions are dated 2nd, 6th and 23rd years of Rājakēsari. In the 2nd year Uḍaiyār Vīrachōḷa Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Orri Madhurāntakan deposited 100 *kaḷanju* gold with the Mūlapparuḍayār. The latter undertook to defray all the land dues in paddy and in cash or gold, and discharge other customary obligations due on 1-1/2 (*vēli* ?) of land, comprising half in *Ūrpātti* (or garden lands abutting the township) and another half in wet lands. The dues now to be defrayed from the interest proceeds on the deposit, were previously paid by the deity on the lands endowed, and were collected by the township from the temple (Ūr Koḍuvanda). Nāgan Udayan Mārtāṇḍan, the Brahmaperundiṇai, official under the Five Paruḍai (Paruḍai consisting of 5 members (?) signed the deed. It will be apparent that some of the lands held or endowed to the temple were assessed to land dues and the proportionate obligations had to be discharged by the deity. These ceased and were determined by the tax-vigil deposit. The donor was the grandson of Bhūti Āditya *alias* Sembian Iḷangōvēḷ and son of Madhurāntakan Irukkuvēḷ. The donor had thus solicitously provided for the shrine erected by his grand-aunt, Nangai Bhūti Āditya Bhaṭāri.[31]

In the 6th year, a Brahmin, Bhāradvājan Kaṇḍan Vīranārāyaṇan sold for 30 *kaḷanju* gold his land called Tirumāliruñjōlai Vayakkal, a wet land in the eastern portion of the township to Vēṭṭuvan Āditta Piḍāri wife of Tañjāvūr Perumāḷ of Taṅjāvūr Kūrram. It was surrounded both on the north and the east by the Kaṇḍan channel, perhaps a channel named after his father or an ancestor. To its south lay a street proceeding eastwards, and to its west was the land held by the Paruḍai. A Paruḍai official, Accountant Tuvvūruḍaiyān Kāman Sirappan signed the deed.

This land was apparently, secured by a maid, Chōḷapperundevi *alias* Bhaṭṭan Malli from her mistress (engaḷ ācci) and the former endowed the Svāmibhōgam proceeds from the land excluding the enjoyer's share (vagaiseyvār nīkka *svāmibhōgam*) for maintenance of an *ambalam* (or rest and water shed) which she had erected at Viḍēlviḍugumaṅgalam, the adjoining township.[32]

Evidently there were still some smaller parcels held in common by the Paruḍai.

In the 23rd year, the builder of the shrine Nangai Bhūti Ādicca Piḍāriyār purchased some lands from the Paruḍayār for 5 *kaḷanju*. To its west was a field enjoyed by Nārāyaṅan Nakkan. To its north was the land enjoyed by Ātrēyan Māran Iṛavi. To its east by the Big Street and a channel running towards the south. To its south was the village boundary of Karuppūr. The Paruḍayār also undertook to defray the land dues. The vendee endowed the 6 *mā* of land for the piper service.

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This inscription in its latter part proceeded to detail some additional parcels of lands acquired by private purchase by the same donor.[33]

The Śiva shrine and temple in Tiruchchendurai were the contribution of the Irukkuvēḷ lady, who married the Chōḷa Prince Arikulakēsari or Ariñjaya. The Viṣṇu temple therein was the benefaction of a Tañjāvūr merchant, Karnāṭaka Puḷalayachchetṭi who was perhaps a native of Gaṅgapāḍi, who came to this township, after visiting several countries on his rubies-trade (māṇikka-Vāṇiyan). He asked what charity he could execute, to stand forth as his progeny (perhaps he was childless). The township directed him to build a Viṣṇu temple to the west of the township and the shrine to be named as Puḷalayaviṇṇagar after the benefactor. At that very instant he undertook the task, excavated the earth, and brought a vigraha from the north, and installed the image in the 12th year of (Raja ?) Kēsarivarman (A.D. 968 ?). The temple so erected was under the maintenance of 401 of the Paruḍai and Vaiṣṇavas.[34]

He also acquired a land from the Mūlapparuḍayār (free from all levies—Sarvaparihāra) for 40 *kaḷanju* and the deposit for the tax-vigil was 70 *kaḷanju*, in all 110 *kaḷanju* of gold, and endowed it for the Viṣṇu Temple he had built,[35] and this charity was to be protected by both Vaiṣṇavas and the Panmahēśvaras. Schisms had not yet developed apparently.

In the 20th year of Rājakēsari, he also desired to acquire the lands within the circumambulatory passage abutting the temple, and the Mūlaparuḍayār obliged him by selling the lands for 5 *kaḷanju* together with many yielding trees, in all 100 *pātti* (garden lands). Dry land or garden lands were reckoned in terms of *pātti*. (A *pātti* could be termed a furrow or a long trench or groove made by plough or by moulding loose wet clod by feet or hand). He also deposited another 5 *kaḷanju* for the tax-vigil against which the Paruḍayār agreed to defray the land-dues from the interest on the deposit.

Apparently the yield of an equivalent amount of sale-price is adequate to defray the tax dues on a garden land or dry land or house-site. In the case of a wet land it worked to the ratio of 70 : 40.[36] The rate of assessment and the quantum of dues from the wet land were quantitatively far more than for the dry.

The remaining part of the available epigraphic evidence is easily recounted. In A.D. 997 (12th year of Rājarāja I), a Vaikhānasa (priest of Viṣṇu Temple) received 5 *kāśu* from a Veḷḷāla Ādichchan Udaya Piḷḷai for a lamp service.[37] In the 21st year of Rājēndra I (A.D. 1033), the Subhayār of Īsānamaṅgalam received 15 *kaḷanju* (tested by Kuḍiñai Kal) which was equal to current good coin 200 *kāśu* (@ 1 *kāśu* = Manjadi, Kuṇṛi), and sold a land. They also agreed to defray and keep vigil for the payment of the land dues.[38]

The fragments of records proceed to register other land grants for the deity, including those endowed by a woman—inheritor, and for Sālābhogam for feeding Brahmins, well-versed in Vēdas. The Sabha undertook to maintain these endowments and on its behalf the following signed the deed.

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Uruppaṭṭūr Anantavarman Kramavittan
Kāmakkani Vasu . . . .
Tiruvaranga Sahasran,
Ātrēyan Sōmadevan Saṅkaranārāyaṇan
Mōgilyan Bhāskaran Śrīkṛṣṇan

The village Kāvidi and Kaṇakku and the Madhyastan and Karaṇattan attested this deed.[39]

In the 3rd year of Vikrama Chōḷa (A.D. 1121), two priests of the Śiva Temple confessed they had no capital or resources to execute the earlier endowments undertaken. They took a deposit of 10 *kāśu* from one Gangai Saḍai-Karantān Varahūr and from the interest at 1 *dramam* per *kāśu* they undertook to provide the lamp services.[40]

In the 46th year of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga (A.D. 1116), the temple priests received an endowment of 4 *kāśu* from a benefactor Tiruvēgamban Cokkan, and agreed to provide a lamp service and to feed a Mahēśvara. The rate of interest-yield worked out to 1 *uḻakku* ghee per *kāśu*. They also received from the same benefactor 45 kalams of paddy and from the interest @ Tūṇi-Padakku per kalam per year, they agreed to provide food offerings.[41] The rate of interest works out to 50%.

In the 6th year of Rājarāja (III ?), Īsānamaṅgalam was renamed as Viṛuddharājabhayankara-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Uṛaiyūr-Kūṛṛam in Kēraḷāntaka Vaḷanāḍu. The Siva-Brahmanas undertook to maintain 3 lamp services.

A SUM UP

Īsānamaṅgalam had, perhaps, its beginnings in late Pallava period. For, even after their times, the touch stone for gold was still named after their sign-manual, Vidēlviḍugu. An adjoining township also bears this name. The touchstone was not renamed/substituted till the reign of Rājarāja. The Sabhayār of the Brahmin township had held common lands which they were willing to sell creating individual occupancy holdings. A large part of the arable lands and the garden-lands were already in the early 10th century held under individual ownership or enjoyment (āḷukai). The garden lands were reckoned in terms of '*pātti*' or grooves or furrows. (A *patti* could be termed a furrow or a long trench or groove made by plough or by moulding loose wet clod by feet or hand).

Landed property could descend to women-holders who could endow or sell them or as *Strīdhana* which with their consent, their husbands or guardians could alienate. The township had a number of *Strīdhana* properties gifted to the in-laws, some from within and others from without. Even so, there were still lands held in common either by the Sabhayār or by the Paruḍayār. The latter were the custodians of the Śiva temple and also of Viṣṇu temple endowments in the early period together with Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Their common-holdings were generally lying at the extremity of

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the township, abutting Amaṇguḍi, Viḍēlviḍugu-maṅgalam and Karuppūr in the west and a few also to the east. But comparatively the unoccupied extent was less than the occupied holdings, as seen from the pattern of quantum and intensity of evidence.

The Śiva shrine was built in the first decade of the 10th century by Bhūti Āditta Pidāriyar, the daughter of Irukkuvēḷ chieftain, Bhūti Vikrama Kēsari, and wife of the Chōḷa prince, Ariñjaya, who solicitously provided for the upkeep, maintenance and festivals in the temple. Her father, her brother and her nephew and grand-nephew all provided for this deity and added endowments. Some of the endowments were in the form of lands acquired by them or alternatively they endowed the land-dues from specific parcels of lands or villages. The chieftains in the latter case had exercised the prerogative of the sovereign to grant, assign or endow land-dues proceeds to the beneficiaries.

Where such grants or assignments of land-dues were not made, the Paruḍayār in some cases, the Sabhayār in others received cash deposits to defray the recurring land-dues and to discharge customary obligations from out of the proceeds. The deposit in one case worked out in the ratio of 70 : 40 to the sale price of the land and in another was equal to the sale price of the land. The former lands were wet, and the latter, a house-site a garden-land or dry.

The Viṣṇu Temple was a later addition, perhaps, in the reign of Rājakēsari Sundara Chōḷa and the benefactor was a ruby merchant from Gangapāḍi in Karnātaka and he was permitted to name the shrine after himself.

The recorded evidence is abundant, pertaining to the 10th century, but it becomes slender from the time of the Imperial Chōḷas, from Rājarāja's time.

This sum up would substantially bear out the conclusions on Īsānamaṅgalam holdings which have been quite realistically and factually set out by Professor Karashima in the extract reproduced from page 154 of his article.

ALLŪR

Allūr was a township in Uṛaiyūr Kūrram. The transactions summarised below could be dated in the first half of the tenth century—from the reign of Parāntaka I onwards. It is difficult to precisely ascribe each particular record to a distinct reign, but to the extent the sequence of events, as far as they can be surmised to be inter-connected, and the Irukkuvēḷ genealogy could help, a probable chronological order has been evolved and adopted. Also, clearly ascribable records are grouped together. This aspect can certainly bear further scrutiny and confirmation. But the main theme of this article on the location of the fields, their extent, and the progressive reclamation, and the bearing these aspects have on the character of land-ownership, individual or collective, does not get affected by this chronological uncertainty or sequential ambiguity.

In the 6th year of Parāntaka I (A.D. 913), Bhūti Mādēvaḍigaḷ purchased a land

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at a price (which included the tax-vigil deposit) from the Paruḍayār of the adjoining Brahmadēya, Īsānamaṅgalam and endowed the land to Tiruvaḍakuḍi Mahādēva in Allūr.[42]

In the 17th year (A.D. 924), the Ūrār of Allūr donated as Dēvadāna to the deity of Allūr, Nakkar Mahādēvar, the lands in Sirukaḷañjēri. The lands had never been yielding in the previous years. They were alkaline (*Kaḷar*) and, perhaps, had been infested with termites (Karayān koḷḷi). The *ūrār* donated those lands, so that they could be reclaimed into channel-fed wet lands (Vāri nilamā vayakki koḷḷa).[43]

The boundaries of the lands so donated were as follows :—

East : To the west of the pathway leading to Erukalmugam.

South : To the north of the northern fields (Vaḍavai) held by Puḷiyan Paraśurāman, and by Siriyān Guṇamandaran, and other residual lands.

West : East of the lands of VEṬṬAN KAṆḌAN, Singāri Nīlan (and ?) of the Nāṭṭiyattār (the dancing troupe).

North : South of the land belonging to the Chieftain (Ko ?), 1½ *mā* in Vaḍakaḷar (the alkaline lands in the north) and the wet land of Kāḷiyār (Kali deity, or owned by a person of that name) and other lands and the land of Eṭṭan, (an individual ?).

The *ūrār* have made a virtue of necessity, and have endowed an infertile alkaline land to the deity so that some benefactor could undertake to reclaim the lands. The grant by the *ūrār* was solemnly attested (Oṭṭu-iṭṭu-kkuḍuttu) by Puliyam Paraśurāman, the holder of the adjoining parcel.

The land could be located near the dry lands to be reclaimed with the 20 *pon* deposited by Vīra Chōḷa Iḷangōvēḷ in the 3rd year of Parakēsari noticed below.[44]

Next year (18th) (A.D. 925), the Allūr *ūrār* again donated a wet land as Dēvadāna.[45] The boundaries were as given below :—

East : To the west of the water course-cum-pathway through which corpses are taken.

South . To the north of the high-level land of the township.

West : East of Padana Vayakkal, field already reclaimed and the *ambalccey* and Sāttan Vayakkal, of Siriyan Pullan.

North : South of the western field in Mūlaichchevvai within the parcel brought to wet cultivation by Muṇḍan Kalimari.

The *ūrār* permitted the earth that would be excavated (while deepening the field for wet cultivation) to be deposited in the abutting (high level land) abutting the field donated. No customary obligations and land dues were to be borne by the land so donated; that is the *ūrār* took over these obligations on themselves. This grant was attested by Siriyān Pullan, the adjoining landholder of Senguṇḍaiyūr and a resident of Allūr.

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This parcel of land should be located contiguous or adjacent to the Chandramaṅgalam land granted as Kuḍinīkka-dēvadāna,[46] in the 4th year of Parakēsari by Mummiḍi Chōḷa Iḷangōvēḷ. The boundaries on the east, south and west were almost common between these two parcels. From the fact that the adjoining field owners had attested the transactions, it could be inferred that they were instrumental in bringing these lands under reclamation and wet cultivation, so that their own adjoining parcels may be cultivated without hinderance by cattle and with greater falicity. Besides their attestation served as evidence of the grant by adjoining land-owners. The evidence would also bring out that undoubtedly individual ownership and occupancy of lands were very much in vogue in Allūr. But fields in the extremity, of inferior futility, and highlands of marginal productivity were still unreclaimed or unoccupied. The *ūrār* were assiduously trying to get them reclaimed and to bring them under cultivation by donating them to the temple of the township so that the necessary inputs or capital could be contributed by the temple or by other interested benefactors. The remission of land dues and customary obligations, on such lands, presumably by the *ūrār* taking them over was an incentive for such investments and reclamation activity. These customary obligations included excavation, and earth-work for embankment of the river (kulai) and putting a diversion across the river (Karappu-same as Korambu ?) with palm and bamboo to divert river water flow into the channel head, and also repair work and channel clearance when the freshes (Sennīr-veṭṭi) flow. The interest of adjoining landholders in such efforts was also evident by their attestation and response in auction-sale of such lands for reclamation.

In the 37th year (A.D. 944) of Parāntaka I, the eleven in charge of the open-head of the channel taking off the Cauvery river proclaimed in auction sale their land *Veṭṭippēṛu* (apparently land endowed for labour and repair and maintenance work for the open-head) located in the north-eastern part of Allūr village. The land had been laid waste for 6 to 7 years, and no crop irrigated by channel water was raised, and was dry, overcast with sand, as the earthen embankment or river-bund (Kulai) had been breached due to floods in Cauvery (which could have occurred in A.D. 937-38). They sought a buyer, Siriyan Pullan of Allūr, responded to buy the land which was in 2 parcels, provided he could endow it as Dēvadāna to the temple for food-offerings in the day-service.[47]

The boundaries of the lands sold were as follows :—

Parcel 1

East : West of the Padana vayakkal of Chandramaṅgalam, which occurs as the western boundary of the land donated by the *ūrār* in the 18th year.[48]

South : North of the channel flowing eastwards.

West : East of Kaṇiyār field.

North : South of a field and of a eastward flowing channel.

The gradient was towards the east and channels taking off the river at a higher level

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in the west were flowing parallel to the river course. This parcel and the one donated by Allūr-*ūrār* in the 18th year should be lying on either side of Padana vayakkal. Its extent was 7 *mā* or 2 acres 41 cents.

Parcel 2

The second parcel was called Kanavaḷi-vayakkal. It lay to the north of the garden-wall of the Allūr-nagarattār.

West : East of the old Dēvadāna land.

North : South of 6 *mā* and 1-1/2 *mā* of lands.

Its extent was 3 *mā* or 99 cents.

The vendors agreed to be vigilant, were themselves to pay the land-dues on the two parcels sold.

The second parcel again should be lying adjoining the field endowed as Kuḍinīkka-dēvadānam in the 4th year of Parakēsari by Mummuḍi Chōḷa Iḷangōvēḷ[19] as the two have a common boundary.

It is not clear whether the field referred to as the western boundary of the field so granted in the 4th year of Parakēsari is identical with the subject matter of this sale. This sale can be dated definitely in A.D. 944. If the inscription of the 4th year of Parakēsari (No. 692) could be ascribed to the next Parakēsari then it should be ascribed to A.D. 960 in the reign of Āditya II, i.e. some 16 years later. Perhaps in between Siriyān Pullan could have exchanged the land he had purchased from Talai-Vāccānrōr with another parcel he had acquired from the *ūrār* and endowed it to the temple as Dēvadāna, to fulfill the professed intention of endowing the land with which he had purchased in auction this flood-damaged and sand-cast land.

What is most striking is the proximity and contiguity of the Kaḷar lands, and the sand-cast and flood-damaged lands and other reclaimable parcels at the north-eastern extremity of the township. The lands donated by the *ūrār* or sold by them or by the Talaivācānror or undertaken to be reclaimed by benefactors were all parcels of land of varying extents. But they were all located in the Sirukaḷanjēri dry uplands (tiḍal), or in the eastern patch of Allūr in Chandramaṅgalam, on either side of the highway through which corpses were taken and to the north of the wall of the Nagarattār enclosing their garden. The initiative to bring such lands under reclamation sometimes was taken naturally by the adjoining landholders, like Siriyan Pullan, and Puḷiyan Paraśurāman.

These inferences are further confirmed by the evidence of some more transactions of the 40th year (A.D. 947). In that year Ariñjikai Pāṇḍan gave 10 *kaḷanju* of gold and he also reclaimed two parcels of land. One parcel of land he had obtained from the *ūrār* themselves, depositing the tax-vigil amount to defray land-dues from its proceeds; he reclaimed it into a wet land and endowed it to the temple. The extent was 1/2 *mā* or about 16-1/2 cents.[50]

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The broad boundaries for the parcel were as follows :—

On the east : West of a garden

South : North of the field called Mūngil-kal-śey.

West : East of the tail-end channel (an indication of the location of the parcel at the extremity of the township limits).

North : South of Maṇarkār-śey and the 2 *mā* of land to its west.

The second parcel which he reclaimed lay further across the above land, and it was in the dry upland of Sirukaḷanjēri. It already belonged to the deity. Ariñjikai Pāṇḍan purchased it from the deity, reclaimed it and levelled down the plot and made it into a wet land. Its boundaries were :—

On the east : West of the deity's dry high level land. An indication that land was raised in its level further eastwards and reclamation and deèpening from west to east.

South : North of the deity's wet land

West : East of the lands held by the Eṭṭis (chiefs/merchants) of Allūr, and the lands belonging to the dance-troupes and others.

North : South of the land of the Madhyasta (or the executive) of Allūr, Nānūrruvan Terri.

The extent of the parcel was 2 *mā* or 66 cents. In all the extent was about 1/8 of a *vēli* or 2-1/2 *mā* or 82-1/2 cents.

From the above boundary description this parcel should be forming part of or located either north or south of the land endowed as Dēvadāna by the Allūr *ūrār* in the 17th year (A.D. 924) of Parāntaka I.[51]

Four priests of the temple undertook to maintain the stipulated services from the proceeds of the gold deposit and the land. They apportioned the obligations in proportion to the share of the service each had, undertook to pay the interest on the gold deposit and the rental obligations for the lands.

About the same time, the same donor purchased some more dry high level lands from the Allūr *ūrār*.[52] These lands were till then unyielding, and the vendee reclaimed them, and endowed them for 3 *sandīes* of worship, and for the priests. The boundaries of these parcels were as follows :—

For the first parcel,

East : To the west of the highway leading to the river,

South : North of Chandramaṅgalam wet lands,

West : East of the 1-1/2 *mā* of land of Chandramaṅgalam,

North : South of the Chandramaṅgalam wet lands.

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The land reclaimed was about 1/4 *vēli* or 5 *mā* or 1.65 acres.

The second parcel was abutting this first parcel, and was also purchased from the *ūrār* of Allūr; it comprised wet and garden lands. The boundaries were :—

East : West of the highway leading to the river,

South : North of the east flowing channel,

West : East of a reclaimed land (particulars of which are lost),

North : South of the Dēvadāna lands.

The wet land was 1/16 or 1.25 *mā* or about 42 cents and there was also a garden.

A third parcel of wet land was called Kaḷḷiccey which was a dry land reclaimed by a temple-servant/executive, Iḍaivan Kaṇi Kāvidi. It was purchased from him by Ariñjikai Pāṇḍan and freed from land dues by capitalising the amount. The boundaries were :—

East : West of the channel which flowed from the dry lands (into the wet field),

South : North of the Dēvadāna land and channel of Kani Kāvidikkuḍi, the vendor,

West : East of Sirukaḷamcēri,

North : South of the east flowing channel.

This evidence attests the lands purchased from the *ūrār* or undertaken for reclamation from the Dēvadāna lands were all located in the north-eastern portion of Allūr, near Sirukaḷamchēri and Chandramaṅgalam lands. They were all high level lands, sand-cast and dry. Benefactor-purchasers were reclaiming small portions within such high level lands wherefrom sand and earth could be moved out, and the levels could be lowered to form wet fields. The size of such fields varied from 1/16 *vēli* to about 3/8 *vēli*. The reclamation work was proceeding from west to east. To the east of the reclaimed wet parcels was the dry high level land. The highway from the habitat leading to the river was running to the east of the lands. Small parcel of lands, as far as feasible, lying contiguous to the already reclaimed lands, with abutting boundaries on one or more sides were being deepened, casting away the sand, and converted into wet parcels. Where this could not be done, gardens, especially mango groves were being reared. In their very nature, the occupied holdings in this block of reclaimable land were comparatively few. Still there were a few.

In the 41st year of Parāntaka (A.D. 948), a lady who was connected with Vīra Chōḷa Iḷangovēḷār made a gift of a lamp-stand and also deposited gold with the *ūrār* of Allūr, who undertook to pay interest in the form of paddy for maintaining the lamp service.[58]

The process of reclamation of lands had continued even after the time of Parāntaka I. In the 3rd year of Rājakēsari (Gaṇḍarāditya) Mayilai Tiṇḍan *alias*

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Avantīyakōpa Pallavarāyan[54] of Pudukkuḍi in Urattūr Kūrram supplicated his chief, Vīra-Chōḷa Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Parāntakan Kuñjara Mallan and under his authorisation got donated from the *ūrār* of Allūr and the *Nagarattār* of Allūr some lands in the village. Tiṇḍan reclaimed the land, lowered its level, to enable wet cultivation and named the field after himself as Tiṇḍan Vayakkal. The boundaries of the field were as below :—

East : West of the channel flowing to Paḷuvūr,

South : North and east of the wall enclosing the garden belonging to Sankarap-pāḍiyār (Oil-mongers),

West : East of the highway through which corpses are carried,

North : South of the channel which flowed from the east from Chandramaṅgalam to irrigate the ayacut of Kīḻpanangāḍu.

The lands were granted on Dēvadāna tenure. The lands included channel-fed wet land, dry and garden lands or where irrigated crops could be raised with rain-water or seepage or moisture (*Men-śey*). As they were unoccupied hitherto, and newly reclaimed the temple-priests were themselves to plough or cultivate these lands. That is to say, the temple-priests could have the lands ploughed by the temple-servants or induct tenants at will, and have the cultivation directly supervised. From the proceeds 2 lamps and I food-offering were to be provided to the deity.[55]

From the boundaries given the land so reclaimed and endowed could be located on the other side of the 1 *vēli* of land granted in Kīḻur Chandramaṅgalam across the highway for taking corpses to the river (endowed in the 4th year of Parakēsari).[56] This latter lay to the west of the highway, while the parcel under reference lay to its east. The Nagarattar's garden-wall was the common boundary on the south, the highway was passing in between and the fields lay outside the wall.

In the 6th year of Rājakēsari-Varman (Gaṇḍarāditya ?), the donor Ariñjikai Pāṇḍan (who had already made a few grants in the 40th year of Parāntaka) again deposited 6 *kalanju* of gold with four temple-priests as detailed below :—

Arangan Anaikkāvan	...	3 *kalanju*
Arangan Tirumerraḷi	...	1-1/2 ,,
Urānarinjikai	...	1/2 ,,
Viḍaman Karkaḍai	...	1 ,,
		6 *kalanju*

Against the interest on this amount, they agreed to bring water from the river Cauvery at 3 pots (the pot with a capacity of *Tūṇi* water) per day for the 3 Sandhis for the sacred bath of the deity. If remis for 1 Sandhi, twice the stipulated quantity were to be brought, and if defaulted a fine of *mañjāḍi* gold per day was to be paid, and yet the service would have to be continued.[57]

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The recorded evidence from Allūr epigraphs also attest the interest of several generations of Irukkuvēḷ Chieftains who had made benefactions to the temple at Īsānamaṅgalam. Bhūti Āditya's second son, Ādityan Tiruvorriyūr-aḍigaḷ *alias* Vīra-Chōḷa-Īḷangōvēḷ had a wife, Gaṅgamādēviyār Tīppaykinrār. Her benefaction included a deposit of 20 *kalanju* made in the 3rd year of Parakēsari for the Mahādēvar shrine in the Allūr-nakkan temple. Four priests of the temple undertook to maintain a lamp from the proceeds of a land 1/4 *śey* (or 5 *mā* or 1 acre 65 cents in extent) which they agreed to reclaim into a wet land the capital of 20 *pon* donated. The land to be so reclaimed was the deity's land in Sirukaḷamcēri dry lands.[58] In the 4th year of Parakēsari (Āditya II ? — if so, A. D. 960), Ādityan Munayadarayan *alias* Mummuḍi-Chōḷa-Iḷangōvēḷ, granted as Kuḍinīkka-Dēvadāna Iraiyili (Tax-free land endowed to the temple, without extinguishing the subsisting tenancies), 1 *vēli* of land in a block called Chandramaṅgalam located on the eastern part of Allūr wet lands. This donor was the third son of Bhūti Āditya *alias* Sembiyan Iḷangōvēḷ, and brother-in-law of the donor above, Gaṅgamādēviyār. He addressed the Brahmadēya elders and the Nāṭṭār of Uraiyūr kūrram to give effect to this grant, and demarcate by boundary stones and planting prickly pear the 1 *vēli* of land and proclaim the grant. By the order of the local officer, (Āṇatti = Āgñapti), Avantīyagōpa-Pallavarayar this was given effect to by the elders of the Brahmadēyas and the Nāṭṭār. The boundaries of the 1 *vēli* so granted were as follows :—

East : To the west of the highway through which corpses are taken to the river from the Allūr nagaram; the township-part is occupied by merchants. The road should be running north-south, the river Cauvery flowing to the north of the habitat.

South : To the north of the enclosing wall of the Nagaram of Allūr.

West : To the east of the following :—

Piḍāriyār Tuḍavai field (field owned by Piḍāriyār or endowed for Piḍāri shrine); and the land granted to this deity as *dēvadāna* got in exchange by Siriyan Pullan from the *ūrār* of Allūr for the land which he had purchased from Allūr Talaivāyar (i.e. the owners of the land at the head-reaches or those in charge of the channel-head) and gave to the *ūrār* as a substitute; the tank belonging to the deity; and 4 *mā* of land of Chandramaṅgalam.

North : South of the east flowing channel.

Within the block of land so demarcated, 4 *mā* of land had already been purchased from Allūr *ūrār* by Ariñjikai Pāṇḍan, a resident of the township and he had reclaimed the land and endowed it for the priests (yōgiyār) who were performing daily worship for this deity and this parcel was excluded (puramāha). The residual 1 *vēli* was granted as Kuḍinikkādēvadānam and hence the Allūr *ūrār* or agriculturists having already occupancy rights were themselves to plough and cultivate the land and per year they

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were to measure 120 kalams (@ 6 kalams per *mā*) at the temple courtyard by the measure, Sūlakkal. No free irrigation—servicing labour (sennīrveṭṭi) was to be contributed, but they could irrigate the land with the water. Nor any customary labour obligations were to be demanded.[59] It may be surmised that Siriyan Pullan unable to reclaim the sand-cast flood-affected lands he had purchased, exchanged it with the *ūrār* for an already-occupied land from which the share of the stipulated land-dues at 6 kalam per *mā* were made payable to the temple, as this would fulfil his intention better and quicker and perhaps at lesser cost.

In the 4th year of Parakēsari, Vīra Chōḷa Iḷangōvēḷār *alias* Oṟṟi Madhurāntakan, the grandson of Bhūti Āditya, and son of Ādityan Bhūti granted 1 *vēli* of land as Kuḍinīkkiya-dēvadāna, i.e. as devadāna land, extinguishing the subsisting tenancy/ occupancy rights. The grant was one half for making food offerings, with ghee, and curds, and betel, and the other half for 3 (Aḍigal) devotees who sang Tiruppadiyam. This epistle of the Chieftain was given effect by Allūr *ūrār*. Apparently this 1 *vēḷi* had some earlier occupants whose rights were extinguished, so that the grantees could stipulate their own terms or cultivate the land themselves directly or induct others as new tenants on agreed terms.[60]

In the 17th year of Parakēsari Tiruvorriyūr-Aḍigaḷ had again purchased from a number of individuals (Tanikkuḍigaḷ) Brahmin holders, and their coparceners dry and wet lands and these lands were abutting the habitat near the channel-head (Talaivācceri), and south of the embankment for the river called Karikālakkarai. Was the embankment named after Karikala, the legendary Chōḷa who built embankments for Cauvery or Āditya II who had the title of Karikāla ? The inscription is full of gaps and unfinished. These were purchases made and recorded by the Sabhayār of Kūḍalūr, a Brahmadēya of Uraiyūr Kūrram two years after the purchase.[61]

In the 12th year of Rājakēsarivarman, the *ūrār* of Allūr sold an irrigated wet land Kurukkatti-māhāṇi (1/16 *vēli* ?) for an agreed price to the temple for a new food-offering service. The boundaries of the land were :—

East : West of Aliṅji-viḷai (a dry land ? — *vilai*)

South : North of Kurukkatti 2 *mā*,

West : East of Sattirapulam,

North : South of Kiḷāngurai mukkāṇi.

It could be inferred that except on its east where was a dry land, lands had been converted to wet on all the 3 sides.[62]

In the 17th year of Madurai-Koṇḍa Rājakēsari (Sundara Chōḷa) (*circa* A. D. 973-4 ?) two priests of the Temple received 3 *kaḷanju* of gold from a few depositors.[63]

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In the reign of Rājarāja I the case deposits were increasingly made as below :—

Year	*Donor*	
5th year	On behalf of Parāntakadēva son of Vīra Chōḷa Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Oṛṛi Madhurāntakan.[64]	30 *kaḷanju* of gold on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.
Regnal year 20th (A.D. 1005)	By a lady of (Vīra ?) Nārāyaṇpuram and 2 other grants.[65]	30 *kaḷanju* for feeding a Brahmin well-versed in Vēdas.
22nd year (A.D. 1007)	Deposit by the wife of Madhurāntaka Iḷangōvēḷān.[66]	30 *kaḷanju* for feeding a Brahmin well-versed in Vēdas.

The township is described as Dēvadāna Brahmadēya Tiruvaḍakuḍi and the Sabhayār undertook to implement this charity. The interest rate was 1 kalam per *kaḷanju* per year.

In the 27th year (A.D. 1012) Ariñjikai Vuṇṇāval, an oil-monger reclaimed 1/4 *vēlī* or 5 *mā*, scooped the earth, and made it fit for irrigated wet cultivation. The *kaḍamai* due to the temple was 6 *kalams* per *mā* per year. The donor was one of the Sankarappāḍiyār of Allūr *nagaram*. He also instituted a hunting festival in a garden named after himself for which he reclaimed 1/2 *mā* of land. Among the services provided for were the singing of Tiruppadiyam.[67] He was perhaps, one of the few delivering oil to the inner *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple for lamp services.

Even in the reign of Rājēndra I (A.D. 1066) in the 4th year, reclamation work was still undertaken. A benefactor Sēndan Tirunīlakaṇṭan of Vānarkurai Kīmākkāṇi, a Brahmadēya in Kiḻār-Kurram purchased 1/4 *śey* or 5 *mā* (1.65 acres) from the temple, and reclaimed it from the state of sand-cast high level dry land in which he had purchased it. He endowed it for feeding a Brahmin.[68] To the east of this reclaimed field there was a mango grove.

In the same year, other members of the same family, Sēndan Vikramakēsari, Āccaḍipaḍāra, Kāvali who were elder to Tirunīlakaṇṭan and their mother Vikramakēsari Ponni, deposited 5 *kaḷanju* of gold and from its interest of 6 kalams, 5 Brahmins were to be fed by the Sabhayār of Tiruvaḍakkuḍi.[69] There was a similar charity made in the 13th year, and this was undertaken for implementation by the Devakanmies and the Tiruvaḍakkuḍi Sabhayār jointly.[70]

In the reign of his successor Rājādhirāja the Royal official for the survey and settlement of Kēraḷāntakavaḷanāḍu in which Tiruvaḍakkuḍi was located, installed a

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Ūma-Skanda-Sahita Image, Nīlivanaviṭankar, and also Paśupati-dēvar and provided for special services.[71]

In the 27th year (or 37th ?) of that ruler (A.D. 1045 or 1054-5), he confirmed the supervisory privileges over the temple granted already by his father, i.e. Rājēndra Chōḷa, to one Ambalattāḍi Tirunāvakkarayan and his descendants, who were reciting Tēvaram and Tiruppadiyam and attached to the local maṭha. He was to be given Tūṇi paddy per day as Maṭhābhōgam from the temple treasury. He was also authorised to appoint and change all the several temple servants, including the Sivabrahmana priests of the temple.[72]

A separate shrine for the goddess was added to the second *prākāra* and provision was made by a Kaikōḷa (weaver) attached to the temple, Āvattukkāṭṭan. He took up a Dēvadāna Tirunāmattukkāṇi land 10 *mā* in extent (3 acres 30 cents) and he applied his own capital and that of his relatives and engaged hired labour and reclaimed the land. But the Kaḍamai on the land was to be paid from the treasury of the goddess.[73] This was in the 37th year of Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1205). The township was still in Urattūr Kūrram but the Vaḷanāḍu was renamed as Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu.

The last inscription to be noticed is in the 29th year of Pāṇḍya Māravarman Kulasēkhara.[74] In that year, a merchant of Vīranārāyaṇapuram (a part of the township), Prumanrūr Kiḷavan Mudali Vijayapālan Tirunāvukkavuḍayān gave a grant of land to the temple. The boundaries given indicate that there were a number of private holdings, and also the lands were located just outside the habitat of the Ceṭṭis or merchants.

East : To the west of the ground in front of the Piḷḷayār Temple entrance located on the western side of the Ceṭṭi Street (facing east ?),

West : East of the Dēvadāna land,

South : North of the Piḷḷayār Temple and the lavelled and even frontage (Sevvai),

North : South of the temple of Piḍāri Maṇḍapamuḍayāl.

Another long strip he gave was running all along the backyard of the Ceṭṭis' Street to its north.

On its east : West of the frontage of the western ridge of a field Tiruveṇṇāval-vayakkal.

North : South of the wet lands of this deity.

South : North of 7-1/2 *kōl*-length strip.

West : East of the land already endowed as Dēvadāna by their ancestors.

The grant was made with rights to wells, trees and easements, public channels, and all the rights due to the share.

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A SUM UP

This history of the reclamation of lands is very striking for the repetition and intensity of the effort. They were all concentrated in the north-eastern extremity of the township close to the river bund. The lands were either *Kaḷar* (alkaline) or saline soil near Sirukaḷamjēri or highland (Tiḍal) near Chandramaṅgalam. This part of the lands of the township being close to the river had also been damaged due to the breach in the Cauvery embankment in about A.D. 937-938 and the lands became sand-cast and highground. This was a natural phenomenon when Cauvery and its tributaries had not been dammed, and the drawal was only through open-head channels into which water was diverted through koṛombo works or temporary hedges annually or periodically raised by customary obligation. Also the river was running in embankments, (Kulai) raised by customary labour and this could have been breached due to the pressure and velocity of freshes of the river, and due to the sandy/porus nature of the soil especially in the earthwork. Even today the areas near-about Cintāmanī, further east of this township are prone to such flood-damages. Hence, they had become unfit for wet cultivation, and the river channels and field channels had silted up and had fallen into disuse. The sand-cast lands were at best used for dry or growing garden trees like mangoes and coconut palms.

These lands naturally had not been coveted and individual occupancy in such lands was very limited. The *ūrār* were intent on reclaiming these lands, and so were the few holding still some parcels in the adjoining fields and were making efforts to clear the sand, and bring back the lands to wet cultivation. The *ūrār* took every opportunity to donate the lands themselves to the deity or sell the lands to the benefactors eager to make provisions for services. The local chieftains also assigned such lands or dues therefrom to the temple. Such lands endowed to the temples were also purchased or otherwise rendered tax-free by making the tax-vigil deposit with the *ūrār*. This should have been a welcome relief as the collective obligations of the *ūrār* they had to bear themselves otherwise got reduced. They also sometimes responded by relieving such reclamation effort and the vendees of the customary obligations to contribute labour for embankment strengthening, Korambu work for channel-heads, and silt clearance and re-forming channels when the freshes were received (sennīrveṭṭi). The deposit yield they had and the collective contribution of the township could easily take care of such micro-effort that was otherwise enforceable by the township on individual occupants.

Even so, the parcels brought under wet were small in extent varying from 1 *vēli* at the largest to 1/16 *vēli* and in one instance 1/2 *mā* or 16-1/2 cents. The rest of the lands were still retained as garden or growing dry or irrigated dry crops with rain water where channel-water could not flow due to the high level. The wet parcels there were depressions formed within the block where gradient was favourable, and contiguous to the lands already reclaimed or growing wet crops. The following tabulation as far as is ascertainable of the extents of lands specified as wet in the inscriptions will bear out this inference.

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No. 684 Land purchased from Īsānamaṅgalam.

No. 695 Sirukaḷañjēri—Kaḷar land. Extent not available.

No. 696 Near Tiḍal

No. 689 High land. Laid waste for 6 to 7 years due to flood :

Extent reclaimed : (a) 7 *mā* = 2.31 acres
(b) 3 *mā* = 0.99 ,,

No. 698 (a) 1/2 *mā* = 16½ cents
(b) 2 *mā* = 66 ,,

No. 690 1/4 śey = 5 *mā* = 1.65 acres

No. 692 1 *vēli* = 6.60 ,,

1 *vēli* = 6.60 ,,

No. 687 Not available.

Rājārāja Kesari

No. 688 1/16 *vēli* (?)
1.25 *mā* = 42 cents

Rājārāja I

No. 681 1/4 *vēli*
5 *mā* = 1.65 acres

No. 677 1/4 *vēli* = 5 *mā* = 1.65 ,,

22.70 acres

The ascertainable total extent of reclaimed wet extent comes to only 22 acres 70 cents.

It is quite likely some of these items might be double reckoning, as the lands endowed as *Dēvadāna*, were either taken up for reclamation or purchased by individual benefactors. Allowing for this possibility, the net extent could have been far less. Also 1 *vēli* of land in two cases were the grant made by the Irukkuvēḷ Chieftains. In one case what was granted was only the Kaḍamai or land dues shares at 6 *kalams* per *mā* and the lands were already occupied by individuals. In the other case the subsisting tenancy rights were extinguished. And in the analysis and interpretation made above, it would only have implied in all possibility a fresh engagement between the temple and the erstwhile tenants of the village at the revised terms stipulated by the temple. Both the extents were already occupied.

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These efforts at reclamation recognisably commenced in Parāntaka I's time and continued in full vigour in the succeeding reigns of Gaṇḍarāditya, Parāntaka II, Āditya II, even upto the reign of Rājarāja and Rājeṅdra. But the repetitive intensity of experience in reclamation efforts noticed in the eight decades of the 10th century (A.D. 913-980) was tapering off, as could be seen from the lessening sampling afforded by later recorded evidence.

The analysis would lead to the following conclusions :—

(1) This reclamation effort was in a localised block of lands at the north-eastern extremity of the township. On account of its proneness to floods, nay, the actual flood-damages suffered in A.D. 937-38, and the inherent infertility of the soil due to saline clayey or alkaline content, the individually occupied holdings in this block were far and few between. Hence the block was held in common by the *ūrār*. But they assiduously made efforts to reclaim them progressively inducting occupancy tenants and reduce their own liability. Even so, there were individual occupants near about, and such occupancy was slowly increasing.

(2) What could be true of the conditions in this block approximately 23 acres in extent, as far as ascertainable, prior to the induction of occupants need not and cannot be true of the township as a whole.

(3) The collective holding of the township cannot be predicated of the rest of the lands, as there is enough evidence from the boundary descriptions of individual occupation of lands in this block in Allūr. At any rate this block cannot be the sole true and representative sample of the general nature of the holding of the township.

This caution is all the more necessary because the recorded evidence available pertain necessarily only to the temple-held or endowed lands and as such affords only proof of a segment of the lands held.[75]

(4) The inference that collective ownership of land was more prevalent in Allūr than in Īsānamaṅgalam will be thus vitiated by both sampling and non-sampling errors.

(5) A sharp contrasting of the nature of landholding as between the *ūr*/and the Brahmadēya villages is even less sustained. As already brought out, there were lands even in Īsānamaṅgalam held by the Sabhā in common but at that point of time (first half of the 10 century) more of such lands had become occupied in the Brahmadēya villages earlier than in Allūr. At any rate there were no flood-damaged block of land or lands inherently infertile and hence having no takers for cultivation as in Allūr[76] evidenced in the epigraphs from Īsānamaṅgalam, and this could, perhaps, explain the lesser extent of the lands held in common.

(6) Again, the temple-held lands (Kōilār nilam) and the township-held lands cannot be dichotomically classified nor contrasted. The temple itself could be one of the holders in the township, and the constituents of the township community could be occupants under it besides having their own lands assessed to land-dues. There

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could also be uncultivated or unreclaimed lands belonging to the temple or the township. The temple's claim was for the produce or the assigned share of the produce. Its rights could vary from the full appropriation of produce where the lands were directly cultivated by it engaging tenants-at-will (for which there is some basis for inference from the inscriptions in Allūr) under the supervision of the temple authorities to only receiving the stipulated share of the land-dues assigned by the Chieftain from the Kuḍi-nīkka Dēvadāna lands. The quantum of their rights could only be ascertained with reference to the content of the grant and what was conveyed to the temple in each case or the share of the produce stipulated in the engagements between the temple and the tenants who undertook to reclaim or cultivate the lands.

The tenures on which lands in a township, whatever be its type, had varied characteristics with duality or multiplicity of interests, which could be discerned on a study of their characteristics, location and history in detail. It will be hazardous to typify from available evidence a monotype pattern of tenure, especially when the available evidence can at best be only segmentary. It is to the credit of Prof. Karashima that he is fully aware of the need for this caveat to be entered. The attempt made above to analyse and reconstruct the tenurial composition of the lands based on the totality of the available evidence would only reinforce this need and set the facts in perspective.

Notes and References

1. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, Vol. III, No. 2 (June 1966).
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII-619.
3. *Ibid.*, 126.
4. *Ibid.*, 626.
5. *Ibid.*, 228-229, No. 96.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 615.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 630.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 617.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 621.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 608.
11. *Ibid.*, No. 605.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 618.
13. *Op. cit.*, No. 630—Ammaṇguḍi is a hamlet of Aṇḍanallūr (Village No. 14 of Tiruchirapalli, Tk.)
14. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 605, 618.
15. Was this identical with the land purchased by her from Vacciyan Titta Nārāyanan (See *op. cit.*,—605) and endowed for a lamp service.
16. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 623.
17. *Ibid.*, No. 620.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 631.
19. *Ibid.*, No. 604.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 602.
21. *Ibid.*, No. 601.

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22. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 627.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 632.
24. *Ibid.*, No. 616.
25. *Ibid.*, No. 603.
26. *Ibid.*, No. 624.
27. *Ibid.*, No. 609.
28. See above, *Ibid.*, 630.
29. *Ibid.*, No. 607.
30. *Ibid.*, No. 630.
31. *Ibid.*, No. 611.
31. *Ibid.*, No. 612. The term "vagai-seyvār nīkka svamibhogam" could bear another interpretation, alternatively, as "the svamibhogam or share of land-ownership extinguishing the rights of those on whom it was settled previously."
33. *Ibid.*, No. 629.
34. *Ibid.*, No. 633.
35. *Ibid.*, No. 636.
36. *Ibid.*, No. 634.
37. *Ibid.*, No. 635.
38. P.I. 631.
39. *Ibid.*, No. 613, Fragment 3.
40. *Ibid.*, No. 606.
41. *Ibid.*, No. 622.
42. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 684. Was the donor the wife of Rāṣṭrakūta Kannaradeva who figures as the donor of one lamp service in the 15th year of Parakesari Varman to the deity at Tiruvālandurai Perumāḷ in the neighbouring township of Aṇḍanallūr ? (*Ibid.*, No. 665).
43. *Ibid.*, No. 695.
44. See *infra*, *ibid.*, No. 690.
45. *Ibid.*, No. 696.
46. Please see *infra* 692. This is also confirmed by No. 689 noticed below.
47. *Ibid.*, 689.
48. *Op. cit.*, 696.
49. *Infra* 692.
50. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 698.
51. *Op. cit.*, 695.
52. *Ibid.*, No. 699.
53. *Ibid.*, No. 686.
54. He has instituted a lamp service in Kuḍumiyamalai in the 23rd year of Parakesari Varman (Please see p. 70 of author's *Studies in Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai* (P.I. 70, *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, No. 436).
In a record of the 4th year of Parakesari-Varman he also figures as the executive (Aṇatti—corrupt for Agñapati) of Mummuḍi-Chōḷa-Iḷangōveḷān *alias* Aditya Munayadarayan, the third son of Bhūti Āditya, a cousin of Parāntakan Kunjaramallan.
S.I.I., Vol VIII, No. 692.
55. *Ibid.*, No. 694.
56. See *infra*, No. 692.
57. *Ibid.*, No. 697.
58. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 690.
On the genealogy of Irukkuveḷs, please see *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, page (x) and Appendix 'B' (Tables I to III) to the Author's Study on 'Kudumiyamalai in his (*Studies in Ancient Townships of Pudukkōttai*" (Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, Government Publication).
Also No. 129 in *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIII at pp. 101-2.
59. *Ibid.*, No. 692.

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60. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 687.
The interpretation of the term "Kuḍinikki" is fully borne out from the clear evidence in *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, Nos. 668 & 669 from the adjoining township of Aṇḍanallūr. In the 11th year of Kō Parakesari, Sembian Irukkuveḷ *alias* Bhūti Parantakan (son of Bhūti Vikramakesari) supplicated his Chōḷa King (Parāntaka I) for 3 *velis* of wet land to be granted as Kuḍinīkkiya devadānam in the holdings of Aṇḍavanallūr. At 120 kalams per *veli*, the paddy per year to be measured out was 360 kalams. However, in the 18th year the Chōḷa King directed Arayan Vira-Chōḷan shall be inducted as an unextinguishable tenant (Kuḍinikkā devadānam) or that he need not be dispossessed but may be inducted as a tenant bearing the obligation to measure the dues to the temple. Accordingly Sembian Irukkuvel directed his executor the Tiṇai (Revenue Officer) of Uṛattūr to give effect to it. On this revised basis, the paddy to be measured out was 180 kalams and 120 kalams or in all 310 kalams (SIC). But the customary water rights were to be enjoyed without obligations of free labour (No. 668). Perhaps, the difference of 50 kalams were left to be appropriated by Arayan Vīra Chōḷan so inducted. 7 years later, (25th year) this Arayan Vīra-Chōḷan reinducted the *ūrār* of Aṇḍavanallūr as tenants into the 3 *velis* of lands on the same terms as he had tenanted and enjoyed (and released the lands Viṭṭukuḍutton), No. 669, *ibid*).
This episode makes it clear that when the subsisting tenancies were extinguished the grantor or the grantee was free to stipulate fresh terms and these were more favourable to the temple who could stipulate a higher share of produce at 360 kalams for 3 *velis*. Subsequently, a Chieftain at the instance of the King himself, had been inducted as an inextinguishable tenant and the land-dues assigned to the temple were reduced to 310 kalams. He in his turn, had conveyed his rights of inextinguishable tenancy to the *urār* of the township, who perhaps were still in *de facto* possession and cultivation of the lands and had successfully got themselves reinducted into the lands though as sub-tenants under the principal tenant Arayan Vira-Cōḷan, but on more favourable terms of inextinguishability and lower share or yield-dues to the temple on which the Chieftain had been inducted and which he transferred *in toto* to the *ūrār*. The use of the word "Viṭṭukkuḍutten" perhaps, implied that he had relinquished his claim and released the tenancy over the 3 *vēlis* in favour of the *ūrār* who were not reconciled, presumably, to the extinguishment of their rights. They seem to have had their way, at last and somewhat on more favourable terms than what they would have had to tenant for if the lands were held directly under the temple.
That the tenants under the Kōilār need not be persons altogether different from the other constituents of the township is clinched by the evidence from Tiruviḍaimarudil (No. 203 in *S.I.I.* Vol. III at p. 381). In the 4th year of Parakesari who took the head of the Pāṇḍya one interesting dispute arose. Tiraimūr was a Devadāna Brahmadiya village endowed for the deity. A royal officer enquiring into the affairs of the temple found that the Pañcavāra dues to the temple were stipulated at 256 kalams but actually only 160 kalams were being measured by the Sabhayār (the Brahmin landholders of Tiraimūr Brahmadeya portion). The plea set up was Tiraimūr, the grant-village had the subsisting rights of tenants which were not extinguished (Kuḍinikkiccilaienru). On a verification with the original grant by which Tiraimur was made a Devadāna, it was found to be *Kudinīkki* (i.e. the tenants' rights were extinguished and they had entered into a new engagement (*aḍaiolai*). Accordingly the Pañcavāra was to be measured by the Brahmin landholders at 256 kalams, i.e. an increase of 60%. This would bring out the arduous condition of Kuḍinīkki Tenure *vis-a-vis* Kuḍinīkka Devadāna Tenure. The gross total land dues also were correspondingly revised from 40 kalams per *vēli* to 140 kalams per *vēli*. The grant-village was 20 *vēlis* in extent (Please see page 402 of "The Chōḷas", Vol. II, Part I by Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri).

61. *Ibid.*, No. 682.
62. *Ibid.*, No. 688.
63. *Ibid.*, No. 691.

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64. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 676.
65. *Ibid.*, No. 678.
66. *Ibid.*, No. 679.
67. *Ibid.*, No. 681.
68. *Ibid.*, No. 677.
69. *Ibid.*, No. 674.
70. *Ibid.*, No. 683.
71. *Ibid.*, No. 680.
72. *Ibid.*, No. 675.
73. *Ibid.*, No. 685.
74. *Ibid.*, No. 693.
75. This caution will be fully borne out if it is recalled that the total extent of the occupied/assessed lands in the township could be far more than the endowed lands on eleemosynary tenure. *Confer* the analysis for some typical villages endowed for Brahadīsvara Temple at Tanjāvūr in *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, part I, ft. 1 at p. 66. Out of the total extent on 6 villages, lands free from taxes were roughly only 11% while lands assessed to land-dues was 89% (7-3/4 *vēli* and 63-2/20 and odd *vēlis*).
76. The block of lands under review based on the Allūr Epigraphs could perhaps be located in S.No. 1-27 and 194 of the Village Map for Allūr (Village No. 12, Tiruchirāpaḷḷi Taluk).

NOTE:

I had the privilege of showing this paper prior to publication to Dr Karashima and he very kindly appreciated the point of view projected in it. He has desired me to publish this paper. I am grateful to Dr Karashima for the time he spent in perusing this paper, and for his kind courtesies.

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APPENDIX I

Extracts from Prof. Karashima's article on ALLŪR AND ĪSĀNAMAṄGALAM in "*The Indian Economic and Social History Review*", Vol. III, No. 1—March 1966.

(A) ON ALLŪR

Page 153—Seven pieces of land out of eleven had belonged to the *ūr* and two pieces to the talaivāccāṉṟār. This is a sure indication that non-individual land holding was prevalent. In other words, the connection between land and an individual person seems to have been very weak in Allūr.

(B) ON ĪSĀNAMAṄGALAM

Page 154—A striking difference between Allūr and Īsānamaṅgalam can easily be recognised. In Īsānamaṅgalam more than half the pieces of land examined belonged to individual persons. The connection between land and an individual person is evidently strong in Īsānamaṅgalam and most of the land in the village was probably divided and held by individual persons who were presumably member of the *sabhai*. It cannot be denied, however, that some pieces of land were held in common by the members of the *sabhai* or *paruḍai*.

(C) ON THE MODE OF CULTIVATION

Pages 158, 159 & 160—There are two other pieces of evidence on cultivation. No. 694 records the donation of reclaimed land to the temple. There is no phrase connected with tax. It cannot therefore be assumed that the land was exempted from tax. In any case, the donated object is land itself and in this inscription the phrase "iśrīkōyilp pattuṭaiyārkaḷēy uḻutu koṇṭu" is found. "Koyilppaṭṭutaiyārkaḷ" are temple priests or servants. The meaning of the phrase is, therefore, that the temple priests or servants should cultivate the land. Priests themselves do not usually cultivate, and therefore the land might be cultivated by the temple servants or more likely by agricultural labourers other than the temple servants. They were, however, certainly not the members of the *ūr*, because, if they had been the members of *ūr*, the phrase "isrikōyilp....." should have been replaced by the phrase "urē uḻutukonty". No. 687 is the record of the grant to the temple by one of the Koḍumbaḷūr chiefs. The object granted is, however, land itself in this case and in this inscription there appears

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the phrase "kuṭinīkki" which means that the previous cultivators should be evicted. The land was obtained from the people of *ūr*, and the previous cultivators who were to be evicted, therefore, must have been the *ūr* members. From these two evidences, it is clear that the cultivation of the land donated to the temple was not to be conducted by the members of *ūr*. Though there is no evidence in the inscriptions, the lands given to some persons as remuneration for their services were also presumably cultivated by some people other than the *ūr* members. From the facts shown above, it is inferred that there must have been a group of agricultural labourers who were not the members of *ūr*. Though they do not seem to have been large in number, their very existence might be taken as an indication that social stratification was taking place to some extent in Allūr.

(D) CONCLUSIONS

"It may be concluded that in Allūr the land held by the members of *ūr* in common was cultivated by them and that the other land which belonged to the temple, astrologers, dancers, etc., seems to have been cultivated by the people other than the *ūr* members. The produce fron the *ūr* members' land was divided into two parts, namely, the Government's share and the land-holding cultivators' share, while the produce from the land held by the temple, astrologers, etc., must have been divided into three parts, namely, the Government's share, land-holders' share and cultivators' share.

"The interpretation that *ūr* was an organisation for the village administration has not been faced with any contradiction throughout the argument above. Most of the land in Allūr was held by the members of the *ūr*, not individually but in common. Some land was held, however, by individual persons as the remuneration of their services for the villagers. Individual holding of land does not seem to have existed. The members of *ūr* who were the land-holders appeared also as cultivators of their land and therefore the fundamental structure of the community of Allūr seems not to have been stratified except to the extent that there were some agricultural labourers who were not the members of *ūr*, and the stratification of this kind seems to have been going on to some extent.

The interpretation that *sabhai* was an organisation of the land holders for the village administration is quite compatible with what we read in the inscriptions of Īsānamaṅgalam. Many of the lands in Īsānamaṅgalam were held individually—most likely by the members of *sabhai*—though some land was held in common also by the members of *sabhai* or *paruḍai*. Anyway, individual land holding did exist there. The land holders and the cultivators were apparently different from each other and there existed, therefore, two strata in the community of Īsānamaṅgalam.

Īsānamaṅgalam and Allūr were in the same locality and of the same period, but the characteristics of their social structure were quite different in many respects. This conclusion would be more important if it is considered that one of these two villages is brahmadēya and the other is non-brahmadēya. To the extent that these

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two villages can be taken as the typical cases, the examination serves as a typological study, and many hypotheses might be proposed on the problems of the Chōḷa power structure or the historical development of the Indian village community. These conclusions, however, must not be generalized too hastily. For Īsānamaṅgalam is only one example of the brahmadēya villages, and Allūr, that of non-brahmadēya villages. This comparative study, therefore, should be considered as a preliminary approach to the question of characterizing the two types of the village communities and of analysing the historical implications of the typology."

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6

EPIGRAPHICAL REFERENCES TO UMĀSVĀTI

A.V. NARASIMHA MURTHY*

Umāsvāti is the celebrated Jaina saint and author who is held in great esteem by the Jainas. He is considered next only to Kondakundāchārya, another great Jaina teacher of antiquity. Notwithstanding his great name and fame, not much is known about Umāsvāti's date and other details. Though he is supposed to have flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era, the first epigraphical reference to him is found in an inscription of Humcha of A.D. 1077.[1] Thus there is a big gap of about a thousand years between his life and a reference to it in inscriptions. Hence we may have to depend on traditional literary accounts to know the details of Umāsvāti. In this background, it is worthwhile examining the epigraphical references to understand the personality of Umāsvāti.

There are ten inscriptions so far known which mention Umāsvāti. Chronologically, they can be arranged as follows :—

1. The earliest inscription is from Humcha.[2] It is engraved on a stone in the *maṇḍapa* of the panchabasadi and is dated A.D. 1077.

2. An inscription from Eraḍukaṭṭebasadi in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa dated A.D. 1115, refers to an epitaph set up in memory of Mēghachandra Traividyadēva by Lakshmīmatī, wife of Gangarāja the famous Hoysaḷa minister.[3]

3. This inscription is located in the *maṇḍapa* to the southern side of the Chāmuṇḍarāya basadi at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa.[4] It is an epitaph in memory of Subhachandradēva, the guru of the minister Gangarāja. The *nisidi* was consecrated by the latter and the epigraph is dated A.D. 1123.

4. The next reference is seen in an epigraph found in a *maṇḍapa* by the side of the Gandhavāraṇa basadi at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa.[5] The inscription engraved on all the four sides of a pillar refers to the death of Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva, a senior disciple of Mēghachandra Traividyadēva. It is dated A.D. 1145.

5. A pillar inscription in the southern Mahānavami *maṇḍapa* at Śravaṇabeḷa-

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goḷa, dated A.D. 1163, refers to Hullarāja, a minister under Hoysaḷa Narasimha I and states that the minister set up a memorial stone in memory of his guru Dēvakirtipaṇḍita.[6]

6. Thirteen years later, in A.D. 1176 was engraved another epigraph in the northern Mahānavami *maṇḍapa* at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa.[7] It refers to an epitaph set up by minister Nāgadēva in memory of the great teacher Nayakirtidēva.

7. After a gap of more than two centuries, the name of Umāsvāti is found in an inscription again at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa.[8] This epigraph is dated A.D. 1398 and is found on a pillar in the Siddhara-basadi. It gives a genealogical account of saint Paṇḍitārya and refers to the nisidi to him by his own disciple Abhinavapaṇḍita.

8. Another record from the same basadi gives a detailed eulogy of Śrutamuni on the occasion of his death.[9] It is dated A.D. 1432.

9. At the Padmāvati-basadi in Humcha is found an inscription of Sāḷuva Krishṇa dated A.D. 1530.[10] It refers to certain gifts made to the Jaina temple.

10. A record from Hunasi Hadagali kept in the *maṇḍapa* of the Jaina basadi does not mention Umāsvāti by name. But it refers to Griddhrapiñchcha.[11] The date of the record has been taken to be A.D. 1098 by P.B. Desai.[12]

The light these epigraphs throw on the personality of Umāsvāti may be examined next. The first inscription from the Panchabasadi at Humcha does not mention Umāsvāti by his name. While giving the genealogy of the Jaina teachers, it refers to Samantabhadra, Sivakōṭyāchārya, Varadattāchārya and the author of *Tattvārthasūtra*.[13] The Eraḍukaṭṭebasadi inscription refers to Umāsvāti after Kondakundāchārya.[14] The former is also called Griddhrapinchcha in the epigraph. However, R. Narasimhchar translates the passage thus : "He was likewise known as Umāsvāti *munīśvara* and Griddhrapiñchchārya".[15] Thus he identifies Kondakunda, Umāsvāti and Griddhrapinchcha as one and the same person on the basis of this epigraph. However, that it has to be noted that there is every possibility of construing this part of the passage in the epigraph in a different way whereby Kondakunda and Umāsvāti can be taken as different persons. The next inscription from the Chāmuṇḍarāya-basadi contains the same verse as mentioned above.[16] The same verse is repeated in the next inscription from the Gandhavāraṇa-basadi.[17] The southern[18] and northern[19] Mahānavami *maṇḍapa* inscriptions also repeat the same *ślōka*.

The Siddharabasadi inscription of A.D. 1398 has a slightly different verse. It differenciates between Kondakunda and Umāsvāti.[20] According to it, Umāsvāti was born in the line of Kondakunda and also had the other name Griddhrapinchcha. He was the author of *Tattvārtthasūtra* "which was like a valuable viaticum for people who undertake the journey in the path of salvation". The next inscription also from Siddhara-basadi, treats Umāsvāti and Kondakunda as two different persons. It clearly states that in the holy lineage of Kondakunda was born Umāsvāti.[21] "In his pure line arose the owner of the import of everything, the sage Umāsvātimuni who reduced to *sūtras* the import of *Śāstras* taught by Jina. Intent on the protection of

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living creatures, this ascetic bore indeed, the feathers of a vulture and was from that time called by the learned as Gṛiddhrapiñchchāchārya. From him sprang Balākapiñchcha . ." Thus this inscription makes it clear that Umāsvāti and Kondakunda were different persons; Umāsvāti had the title Griddhrapichcha as he had the feathers of a vulture and Balākapichcha was another person. The second epigraph from Humcha refers to Umāsvāti as the author of *Tattvārthasūtra* and does not mention anything about Kondakunda thereby implying that he was different from the latter.[22] Though Huṇasi Haḍagali inscription does not mention the name of Umāsvāti, it refers to his other name Gṛiddhrapichcha. What is more interesting in this epigraph is that gives a description of the greatness of Kondakunda and then begins to mention the disciples of Kondakunda (*avara śiṣhyaprasiṣhyaru*) and Gṛiddhrapinchcha is the first and Balākapiñchcha is the second in the long list. Thus this inscription is more emphatic in stating that Gṛiddhrapiñchcha was a disciple of Kondakunda.

Thus the epigraphs have not mentioned more authentic details regarding Umāsvāti. But they have created certain confusion regarding the identity or otherwise of Kondakunda with Umāsvāti. Though all the inscriptions referred to here are Jaina epigraphs and exhibit a good and authentic knowledge of Jaina tradition, it is surprising to find how these mistakes or confusions were caused. The same confusion is seen to a certain extent in the traditional accounts also wherein Kondakunda is credited with having another name Gṛiddhrapiñchcha.[23] It is worthnoting that the literary accounts do not equate Kondakunda with Umāsvāti except through the title Gṛiddhrapiñchcha. Hence taking all the evidences into consideration in can be said with certainty that Kondakunda and Umāsvāti were two different persons; the latter was born in the *anvaya* of the former and the title Gṛiddhrapinchcha was applied to the latter.[24]

The inscriptions do not help us to fix the date of Umāsvāti as the earliest epigraph mentioning him is dated A.D. 1077. Kondakunda is generally believed to have lived at the beginning of the Christian era.[25] As Umāsvāti is described as the immediate disciple and follower of Kondakunda, he should have flourished after Kondakunda or atleast should have been a contemporary of him. This question cannot be decided in the present state of our knowledge. However, the absence of even a single epigraph mentioning Umāsvāti before A.D. 1000, is worthnoting though it does not mean anything in particular.

Notes and References

1. *E.C.*, Vol. 8 (old), No. 35.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 (new), 156.
4. *Ibid.*, 135.
5. *Ibid.*, 173.
6. *Ibid.*, 71.
7. *Ibid.*, 73.

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8. *E.C.*, Vol. 2 (new), 360.
9. *Ibid.*, 364.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 8 (old), No. 46.
11. P.B. Desai : *Jainism in South India and Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 241.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 244. He corrects the date on the basis of other evidences as A.D. 1098.
13. *Samantabhadrasvāmigalavara śiṣhyasantānam*
    Sivakōṭyāchāryaravarim Varadattāchāryaravarim
    Tattvārthasūtrakarttugalenisidāryadēvam.....
14. *Abhūd-Umāsvatimunīśvarō=sāv=āchāryyaḥ Śabdōttara*
    gṛiddhrapiñchchāḥ tadanvayī tatsadṛiśo=sti
    nānyas-tātkālkāśēsha-padārtha-vēdī
15. R. Narasimhachar in the introduction to *E.C.*, Vol. 2 (old), p. 81 and p. 117, note 1.
16. Lines 14-18.
17. Lines 13-16.
18. Lines 19--1.
19. Lines 12-14.
20. Lines 27-28. *Śrīmān Umāsvātir-iyamy-atīśaḥ*
    tattvārthasūtram Prakaṭichakāra | yanmuktimārgg-
    ācharaṇ-ōdyatānām pāthéyam-argghyam bhavati
    prajānām.
21. Lines 21—25. *Abhud-umāsvātimuniḥ pavitra vamśétadīyé*
    sakalārttha védī sūtrīkṛitam yēnajinapraṇītaṁ
    śāstrārthajātam-muni-puṇgavéna l Sa prāṇisaṁ
    rakshaṇa sāvadhānō babhāra yōgī kila gṛiddhrapakshān
    tadāprabhṛity-eva budhā yam-āhur-āchāryya-śabd-
    ōttaragṛiddhrapinchchaḥ l
22. *Tattvārthasūtrakartāram umāsvātimunīśvaram |*
    Śrutakévalidéśīyam vande=ham guṇamandiram ||
23. Lines 20-22.
24. A. N. Upadhye (Ed.) : *Pravachanasāra*, Introduction p. i and v.
25. *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

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7

SOME FORGOTTEN PAGES IN THE EARLY CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE ANDHRAS

S. SANKARANARAYANAN*

Abundant are the archaeological wealths of the Andhra people. They shed flood of light on different aspects of their culture in ancient times. The present article tries to study some aspects of their culture—so far not noticed—as revealed by the well known inscriptions, discovered nearly a century ago, in the village Bhaṭṭiprolu, Repalle Taluk, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh. These inscriptions, about nine or ten in number, are found engraved on the lower stones and on the lids of some three stone caskets and on a crystal piece all unearthed in the *Stūpa* site at Bhaṭṭiprolu. They are written in a variety of the script, that generally goes by the name Brāhmī. The texts of these epigraphs are written in a variety of Prākṛit. They have been edited by Bühler with good facsimiles in an admirable manner, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 323 ff. These inscriptions record the gifts of these stone caskets and small crystal boxes, containing Buddha's relics, by different individuals. A local assembly or guild also seems to have associated itself with these gifts. The local assembly is named as *Siṃhagoshṭhī* (*Sīhagoṭhi*) literally "Lion-Assembly", obviously denoting 'an assembly of the locality called *Siṃha* (i.e. *Siṃhapura* or *Siṃhagrāma*). The head of the *Siṃhagoshṭhi* was one Kuberaka (Kubiraka) who styles himself as *Rājā*.

Bühler who edited these records opined that the Brāhmī characters of these epigraphs "cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier". On that basis, Bühler concluded : The only importance of these inscriptions lies in the fact that they indicate the prevalence of the art of writing in India even before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Raja Bali Pandey seems to endorse this view and he includes the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions in his list of pre-Aśokan epigraphs.[1] However, Dr. D.C. Sircar assigns these records, in one context, to about 209 B.C.,[2] and in another to a date "not much earlier than 100 B.C.[3] Whatever Bühler thought to be earlier and peculiar features of the Brāhmī characters of these inscriptions are

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attributed by Dr. Sircar to the carelessness and fancy of the engraver.[4] Thus for fixing up the date of these records, the scholars in general seem to depend solely on palaeography. In fact, there seems to be an evidence, more positive perhaps, to fix up the probable age of these records, which are also important in more respects than what their first editor conceived.

As we saw earlier the Bhaṭṭiprolu epigraphs contain references to the local assembly *Simhagoshṭhī* headed by one *Rājā* Kuberaka. Taking the title *Rājā* obviously in the sense "a king", scholars are generally of the view that this king Kuberaka appears to have ruled independently of the Mauryas about 200 B.C.[5] However one may be permitted to question as : If the title Rājā had actually been used in the sense "a king", how could then a king be held to be a head of a local assembly? For, we find in Indian epigraphs and in Indian history on other instance of a king being the head of a local assembly. Hence, it is obvious that the title *Rājā* must have been used in a sense different from the usual sense of "a king". In other words the context perhaps compells us to interpret the title in such a way so that the *Rājan*-hood and the headship of a local assembly could have normally co-existed in one and the same person. How to do that ?

It is a fact that the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscription are Buddhist in nature. Hence it is but logical to seek a help in the early Buddhist literature itself. It is fairly well known already that the early Buddhist works speak of the existence of a good number of republican clans in North India, governed by their own supreme assemblies of their elected representatives, designated as *Rājā*, "which bore here the same sense as Consul or Archon",[6] of ancient Rome and Athens. It is also known that during the time of the Buddha these clans had their own unique courts of justice, consisting of some group of officers with a *Rājā* at the top.[7] Thus it seems to be almost certain that our Kuberaka, the head of the *Simhagoshṭhī* was also a sort of Consul or Archon, elected, like the other members of the assembly, for some specific period. If this is accepted, then it may follow that the religion of the Buddha came to Andhra together with some elements of the democratic constitution, which nurtured that religion and which was very dear to that great Master.[8] May be the new elements influenced or reshaped the already existing some such institutions of the coastal Andhra region. Thus the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions may be of immense value for the students of the history of the democratic institutions and local administration in ancient India in general and in the Andhra country in particular.

Further, the Bhaṭṭiprolu epigraphs, if viewd in this light, may be quite significant also for our study of the spread of Buddhism in Andhra. It may be noted that the existence of a fragmentary pillar inscription of Aśoka in Amarāvati (Guntur District) has been rightly taken as an evidence suggesting the Mauryan emperor's hand in the construction of the *Stūpa* at Amarāvati,[9] south of Bhaṭṭiprolu. Hence it is certain that the Krishna-Guntur region formed part of the Mauryan empire. We know that Kaliṅga was the only conquest of Aśoka. Hence it is nothing but proper to conclude that the area came under the Magadhan yoke earlier than Aśoka's

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accession, i.e. sometime during Chandragupta Maurya's reign. Now, it may be recalled that the democratic institutions of the Buddha's time came almost to an end in the North due to the rise of the Magadhan imperialism.[10] Therefore the Magadhan domination must have put an end to the democratic constitution of Andhra also. It is also to be borne in mind that all the Indian epigraphs, that are post-Aśokan, give no clue to the existence of some such democratic institution.

In this context it may be suggested, tentatively atleast, that this office of *Rājā* was perhaps adapted converted into *Rājūka* subsequently by the Mauryan administrators. The entire IV Pillar Edict of Aśoka is devoted to define the duties of the *Rājukas* in the rural administration, under the central government. Thus in the light of what we have seen so far it would follow as a natural corollary that the Bhaṭṭiprolu records mentioning such a democratic institution probably belong to a period prior to the Mauryan conquest of the Coastal Andhra. Then it would also follow that the religion of the Buddha came to Andhra first, thanks to the Buddhist missionaries of the pre-Mauryan age and not to the zealous Aśoka, who, however, might have contributed his mite for the growth of that religion by building *Stūpas*, as we saw above. In this context it may be worthwhile to remember that according to the Buddhist traditions preserved in the *Mahāvaṁśa*, the Third Buddhist Council of Aśoka's time, deputed missionaries to different countries both in the North and the South, in the list of which the absence of the name Andhra is conspicuous.[11] It may also be recalled that the schism of the *Mahāsāṅghika* sect had appeared as early as the Second Buddhist Council held in c. 387 B.C., i.e. hundred years after Buddha's *nirvāṇa*; and that it is the Andhra country where the *Mahāsāṅghikas* had had their centre.[12]

Thirdly, the above suggestion is quite significant for the students of Indian epigraphy and palaeography. Now the characters of the Bhaṭṭiprolu epigraphs are to be assigned, inevitably perhaps, to the pre-Mauryan age. Thus the evidences supplied by the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions seem to support Bühler's contention regarding their characters rather than the other view, both referred to above.

Above all these Bhaṭṭiprolu epigraphs are important from the point of the history of Early Indian prosody. For, a close study of the texts of these records would reveal that they contain two verses, composed in what is known as *Mātrā. Vṛitta*—a fact somehow missed by Bühler and by the subsequent writers uniformly. The first verse occurs on the lower stone of a casket. The text, consists of a verse and two short prose passages; and it runs[13] :

Kurapituno[14] *cha kuramātu cha*
Kurasha cha[15] *sivasha cha majusaṁ* [/*]
Paṇiti phaḷigasha mugaṁ cha budhasa
Rirānaṁ[16] *nikhetu banavaputasha* [/*]
Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [*]
[17]*Utaro pigaha puto kaṇiṭho* [*]

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Text Sanskritised

Kurapituś-cha kuramātuś-cha kurasya cha
Śivasya cha mañjūshā praṇītiḥ
sphaṭika samudgaṁ cha Buddhasya
śarīrāṇām niksheptum Banavaputrasya
Kurasya sapitṛikasya mañjushā
Uttaro vigrahaputraḥ kanishṭhaḥ

Padyasya rachayitā [/*]

Translation

"This casket is the creation of Kura's father, and of Kura's mother, and of Kura, and of Śiva in order to enshrine Banava's son's crystal box (containing) the bodily remains of the Buddha. [This] casket is of Kura, associated with his parents. The composer of the text is Uttara, the youngest son of Vigraha".[18]

It may be observed that the verse in this inscription consists of four lines (*pādas*), of which each contains three *chaturmātrāgaṇas*; but at the end of the third and the fourth lines a couple of short syllables are added. This *Mātrā-Vṛtta* does not seem to have been met with elsewhere. Dr. Bühler had taken the name *Uttara* (found in the last sentence) as that of the stone-cutter who made the casket. However, as the names of the casket-makers are not found in the other two caskets, all discovered together—it may be better to take Uttara to be the composer of the verse in question. Because the metre employed in the text is otherwise unknown, the composer of the verse perhaps thought it necessary to record his name under the verse. In view of this, can we tentatively name the present metre as *Uttara-vṛtta* ?

This occurrence of a rare metre in an early inscription from Andhra brings to our mind a similar instance found in an inscription of the early Kadamba king Śāntivarman (5th century A.D.) found at Tālaguṇḍa in Karnataka. While editing that record,[19] Prof. Kielhorn found the metre of the first twenty-four verses of that text to be a species of *Mātrāsamaka*, the exact name of which is unknown.[20] There in that metre we find each line of the verse consisting of fifteen mātrās.[21] The Bhaṭṭiprolu inscription gives a rare *Mātrā-Vṛtta*, earlier by some nine or eight hundred years.

In another record[22] found in lower stone of the second relic casket from Bhaṭṭiprolu there also occurs a verse, again in the *Mātrā-Vṛtta*, preceded by a short prose passage. The text runs :

Shā goṭhi nigamaputānaṁ rajapamukhā[23]
shārishapuṭo khubirako
Rāja shīha goṭhiyā[24] *pamukho*[25] [/*]
Tesham aṅnaṁ majusam

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Phāḷigasha mugo cha pasāna samugo cha [/*]

Text Sanskritised

Sā goshṭhiḥ nigama-putrānām rāja pramukhā
Sārīrasya putraḥ Kuberako rājā
Siṁha goshṭhyāḥ pramukhaḥ Teshām-anyā
mañjūshā sphāṭika samudgaś-cha
pāshāṇa samudgaś-cha

Translation

"This committee of the members of the guild has *Rājā* for its chief. The *Rājā* Kuberaka, son of Śārīra, is the head of the Lion-Assembly; of them is another casket a crystal box and a stone box".

It may be seen now that the above verse is in the *Udgīti* metre where the first and the second halves of the *Āryā* are interchanged. Our inscriptions are the earliest of the Indian epigraphs to employ metres and that too the *Mātrā-Vṛttas.* Kātyāyana, also of pre-Mauryan age, is, as far as the writer can see, perhaps the earliest of the known writers to employ the *Mātra-Vṛttas.* His *vārttika* on Pāṇini contains *Mātrā-Vṛttas* such as *Āryā*,[26] *Āryāgīti*[27] etc. The great commentator Patañjali of the Śuṇga age, describes Kātyāyana as *Dākṣiṇātya* "a man of South."[28] The Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions also of the pre-Mauryan age, as we saw above, come from the South, specifically from Andhra, and contain some two *Mātrā-Vṛttas.* The famous *Gāthā-saptaśatī* of Hāla, the seventh Andhra Sātavāhana king (*c.* A.D. 20-24) of the South, is a collection of some seven hundred erotic *gāthās* in the *Āryā* metre. Do all these early examples suggest that the *Āryā* and other *Mātrā-Vṛttas* had in ancient times some special connection with South India, not with Āryāvartta, the land between the Vindhyas and the Himālayas ?

Notes and References

1. *Indian Palaeography*, pt. I (Varanasi, 1957), p. 20.
2. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*AIU*—The Hist. and Culture of Indian People, Vol. II, Ed. 4; Ed. R.C. Majumdar, etc.), p. 191.
3. *Select Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 224-25.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *AIU.*, p. 191.
6. *Ibid.*, 332-33.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV, p. 43.
10. *AIU.*, pp. 7, 12, 14, 334, etc.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 388.
13. Same as Bühler's inscriptions No. I and II occurring on 'the first casket'.

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14. In Prākṛt verses *O* is at times considered as *laghu* to satisfy the metrical requirements. For similar treatment in another Prākṛt verse compare : *Saṁvalīā ṇaha alāo* (the *Gāthāsaptaśati*, I, 75), where *O* is taken to be a *laghu* for the sake of metre.
15. Bühler and the later writers have somehow omitted this syallable, clearly visible in the facsimile.
16. This letter has an unnecessary *ā-mātrā*.
17. In order to meet the metrical requirements a syllable with *anusvāra* is at times taken to be nasal (*anunāsika*) syllable in Prākṛt verses. Cf. *Paṇa aku vishāṇaṁ dohāvi* (the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, I, 27) where *ṇaṁ* with *anusvāra*-vowel is treated as *anunāsika*-vowel.
18. This line, counted by Bühler as Inscription II, is engraved below the line that consists of the entire earlier portion.
19. Because we read a verse in the inscription, our interpretation of the text is a bit different from that by Bühler and others, a thing which need not be discussed here, as the scholars may themselves see and decide now.
20. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 31 ff. plate 2.
21. Some take the metre of the Tālaguṇḍa text to be the *Gītikā* variety of the *Miśragaṇa* metre, not known otherwise. See *Indian Culture*, Vol. V, p. 115.
22. In the Bhaṭṭiprolu record also the third and the fourth lines of the verse can be taken to consist of fifteen *mātrās* each. For, the second of the two *laghus* at the end of the line could be a *guru* as well.
23. Same as Bühler's No. VI.
24. *Pa* has an unnecessary *ā-mātrā*.
25. *Go* is to be treated as *laghu*. See note 14 above.
26. See under Pāṇinī I, i. 57; I, ii, 51; etc.
27. See under Pāṇinī, I, iv, 51; etc.
28. See under the *Vārttika yathā laukika vaidikeshu* in the first *Āhnika*.

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8

THE PALAEOGRAPHY OF THE EARLIEST INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA, THAILAND, CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM[1]

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Comparative palaeography in one area of study which can throw considerable light on the role of different parts of India in the early expansion of Indian Culture to South-East Asia. Two contradictory theories relating to the origin of the South-East Asian scripts held ground hitherto—that those scripts are derivatives of the Northern Indian script of the Kushāṇa period,[2] and that they are nothing but Pallava Grantha of the South.[3] Recently one more has been added that at least the earliest South-East Asian lithic record—the Vo-canh inscription—follows the Southern Tamil tradition.[4] Considering several aspects of the problem, Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastry, indicated long back that the script though often called 'Pallava' is perhaps best described as 'South Indian', using the term to include Deccan also".[5] Prof. D. C. Sircar has gone a step forward and on the basis of a number of evidences has suggested that in the introduction of the art of writing the 'Western part of Southern India' must have played a very important role.[6] Recently he has made his idea still clear by identifying the 'Western part of Southern India' with the land ruled by the Kadambas of Banavasi and the Chalukyas of Badami[7]—the area which includes mainly the Western and Northern districts of present day Karnatak (Mysore State). When a fresh examination of the palaeography of the concerned records was made with these in view, it was seen that many, if not all, of the earliest inscriptions of Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam followed the writing tradition that prevailed in Karnatak in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A.D. This could have been only due to the close contact that existed between these countries at that time, and this is substantiated by other evidences too. These have been detailed below countrywise seriatim.[8]

1. *Burma*

The oldest incriptions in Burma are those discovered in the Prome District and the Arakan region.[9] These are datable to about the 5th-6th centuries A.D., though

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some of them have been placed by some epigraphists to a slightly earlier date. Line 6 of the table presents the letters from an inscription found in the excavation of the Bawbawgyi pagoda near Hmawza,[10] which bear unmistakable affinities with some letters illustrated in lines 1 to 5 from the Kadamba and Chalukyan epigraphs. The following points are to be noted specially.

Ja is broad and has a tendency for its lower prong to curve prominently downwards like those of the Kadamba forms (line 2) as against the case in the Pallava script where the tendency of the letter is to be somewhat leaner and the lower prong usually curves upwards.

Ta is a very good test letter for differentiating Karnataka and Tamilnadu scripts. The Karnataka variety has semicircular bottom, but the Pallava variety has invariably a looped lower part. This Bawbagyi '*ta*' is of the Karnataka type.

Da has the bottom prong curving up like Kadamba-Chalukyan forms. In Pallava it has a tendency to go down.

Na has the loop below as in Kadamba-Chalukyan variety (11. 1-3) but not like the Pallava form with the semicircle or angle at the bottom of the straight line (11.14-16). This is a very good indicator of the family connection.

Pa and *ha* have the Kadamba squarish features, unlike the Pallava with rounded corners.

Further all the letters have a rudimentary box at the top of the vertical lines like the Karnataka scripts (11.1 and 3) and unlike the simple ends or triangular heads seen in the Pallava forms.

Two sets of gold plates[11] from Maunggun and Kalaganggon, assigned to *c* 5th century A.D. which contain passages from Buddhist scriptures are exactly of the type of Kadamba copper-plate charters, in shape and size. The script used here again closely resembles the Kadamba and Chalukya scripts of Karnataka. These can be seen from the following items:

i clearly resembles that of the Kadamba inscriptions (1.1 and 2) and is certainly different in shape from the Pallava type where the tendency is to have the right arm projecting downwards, and sometimes the same being made of double lines, as in the inscriptions of Kanchi.[12]

Ga has an incurve in its left prong and the presence of the seriff is close to the Badami inscription of A.D. 543.

Ja, Ta, Da are similar to those from the Bawbagyi pagoda inscription, and the points mentioned therewith apply to this inscription also.

Na here shows a rudimentary loop, tradition alien to Pallava (1.14-16), but present in the Kadamba script (11.1 and 3). This further is far removed from some complicated forms of the Pallava Grantha.[13]

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Bha the curved arms are special to the Karnataka variety and this is seen here also instead of the Pallava form with simple semicircular bottom.

Ya again is clearly distinguishable from the Pallava Grantha, and is nothing but the reproduction of the Kadamba-Chalukya form.

La of the curved type again closely follows the Kadamba-Chalukya tradition. It is different from the squarish *la* of the Pallava.[14]

The Maunggun plates show thick box heads in their letters, more prominently than in the Bawbawgyi. This thick box-head is a feature of the Kadamba inscriptions (11.1 and 3). This is distinguishable from the 'outline box' of Central India and weak boxes of Eastern Deccan. Further it is noticeable that the box-head is not seen in all the letters but preserved in a few only and this partial retainment of the features may indicate somewhat a later date than the Kadamba inscriptions. There is no doubt that these bear no resemblance to the ornamental variety of the Pallava Grantha types to be found in Mahabalipuram, Trichinopoly, etc. But some of the letters do bear some affinity to the script of the copper plates of Simhavarman of the early Pallava line (Table L-14). But even here certain tendencies of letters developing towards the Grantha variety can be noticed particularly in the forms of *ṇa*, *ta* and *na*. Such features do not find place in the Maunggun plates. These show clearly that the script of the Maunggun plates is closer to the Kadamba-Chalukya variety.

While publishing an inventory of the Burmese inscriptions,[15] Dr. Taw Sien Ko, had expressed in unambiguous terms that 'the principal alphabets of Burma, that is Pyu, Talaing, Burmese and Shan are derived from the Telugu-Canarese alphabets of South India—the first two Pyu and Talaing were derived directly from the Kadamba alphabet of Vanavasi in North Kanara to the West of South India and the latter follows the alphabets of Pallavas of Kanchipura in the east of South India.' In Burma the inscriptions in Shan and Talaing appear a little later than those in Pyu. U Tha Myat has also shown with a number of illustrations the various stages of development of the Pyu alphabet from the Kadamba prototypes in a book published in Burmese long back.[16]

In this connection two non-palaeographical points of interest may be noted. In the Arakan region of Burma, some simple Sanskrit inscriptions in verse issued by the rulers of the Chandra dynasty and assignable to the 6th century A.D. have been found. The script of these records is the late Brahmi of Eastern India. But, Dr. D.C. Sircar, the editor of these inscriptions, has pointed out that the style of writing i.e., has been borrowed from South Indian epigraphs of the early Kadambas of Banavasi.[17] An inscription[18] from Prome (Śrikshetra) found on the pedestal of a metallic image of Buddha mentions Vanavasi—'*Idam Vanavāsiraṭṭavāsinam pujanatthāya*'. It is possible that this image was meant for the residents of the Kadamba country, the capital of which was Vanavasi, and this found its way to Burma. Or it is also likely that Sriksetra itself had an alternate name Vanavasi, in ancient times. In either case this inscription definitely indicates some kind of contact between ancient Karnataka and

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Burma, and such a contact could have been responsible for the introduction of the script there, the genetic relation of which with the Kadamba script is well displayed as pointed out above.

2. *Thailand*

The inscription of Chitrasena-Mahendra Varman found in Khanthevada,[19] assigned to about the 5th-6th century A.D. (but most likely of somewhat a later date) is probably the earliest epigraph here. This is written in a monumental variety of script with the letters well out with thick lines and a tendency towards ornamental forms. In general look the Khanthavada record[20] (Table 1.8) reminds the beautiful Pallava inscription on the Dharmarajaratha at Mahabalipuram, in the Trichinopoly caves etc. But by close observation one can perceive that here is a peculiar variety of script which has preserved the traditions of both the Western and Southern types of the South Indian script of the 6th-7th centuries A.D.

Letters in the Western type of the South Indian script are (compare Table 1.8 with 11.1-5) :

Ga with the presence of seriff as in Kadamba and Chalukyan,
Ja with its broader body,
Na with its looped bottom,
Bha with the curved and lower prongs and
Sa with its horizontal stroke in the arch.

Letters in the Southern tradition of South Indian script are (compare Table 1.8 with 11.14-16).

Na with addorsed bent hooks (close to this is *na* of 1.16),
Ta with the looped bottom,
Ma with the symmetrical upper arms on either side of the body,
Ra with both the prongs elongated to equal height and without box heads, and
Sha with a circle in bottom right inside (a typical feature of Pallava forms).

Due to the introduction of the letter types of the Southern tradition, many of which are close to the letters of Trichinopoly caves (1.16), this inscription can be dated to late 6th or 7th century A.D. However, the presence of some letters of Karnataka tradition of the 5th century betrays that here was already a writing tradition introduced from the Karnataka region, and this began to be influenced later by the writing tradition of Tamilnadu.

This phenomenon is nothing strange, if the same is viewed in the background of political changes happening in that country. The name of the king, Chitrasena, betrays the original nationality of that person or his family. It is seen that '*Chitra*' as a personal name does not appear in the inscription anywhere outside the borders of

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the Kannada speaking region, in such an early period.[21] Within Karnataka, a few rulers of the Āḷupa family of the West coast had this name.[22] A Chitrasena Mahakella of the Kekaya family who ruled in North Kanara in the 4th-5th centuries A.D. is known from a copper plate record.[23] Due to purely political reasons this Chitrasena of the Siamese inscription may have adopted the name Mahendravarman—a name reminding the well known Pallava monarchs. This shows the varying influences in Thailand, probably political, which might have determined the cultural changes to a certain extent, and this is being reflected in the script of the present records also.[24]

3. *Cambodia*

A similar picture of the changing modes in writing is revealed in Cambodia also. In the letters from the Cruoy Ampil,[25] (Table of letters line 9), one of the early inscriptions of Cambodia, which also incidentally is of Chitrasena of the Tham Prasat record, all the features of that Siamese inscription are also recognizable. Here too, the basic forms are of the Karnataka tradition and in this particular case they are very similar to the inscriptions of Kadamba Mrgesavarman. However, the later ornamental characteristics borrowed from the Pallava inscriptions are also noticeable. This fact again indicates that the art of writing in Cambodia could have started from the early contacts that country had with Karnataka and later followed an independent course of development, amalgamating at a time the features borrowed from the Pallava variety. The same fact is substantiated by the Ta-Prom[26] inscription (Table line 10) also which is somewhat of a later date.

There are umpteen evidences to show the early contacts between Karnataka and Cambodia. There are several stories known from various historical sources and legends preserved in Cambodia about Kauṇḍinya, the first Indian migrant to that country.[27] Scholars who have examined these stories have observed that this Kauṇḍinya of tradition cannot be just a personal name, but may refer to the name of a gotra, the members of which migrated to Cambodia in successive generations, and that these could have been the people who were brought from Ahichchatra and settled in the Mysore Territory by the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman.[28]

Apart from these stories there are more reliable epigraphical evidences. An inscription from Phhom Bayang[29] of the time of Bhavavarman II mentions one Kongavarma. There are a number of such personal names to be seen in Karnataka, like Konguinivarma, the progenitor of the family of the Gangas of Talakad, Kangavarma, the son of Kadamba Mayuraśarman, and such names have not been noticed outside this region. There should be a strong reason for the occurrence of similar personal names in Karnataka and Cambodia. Another Cambodian inscription,[30] from Sambor, mentions that the kings of the land worshipped Kadambeswara, a very suggestive name. This inscription dated A.D. 627 belongs to the reign of one Īśānavarma, and this man is known to be a native of Dakshiṇāpatha from another inscription.[31] The metrical compositions of the inscription of Cambodia follow the pattern of the Kadamba inscriptions unlike contemporary prose records of Tamilnadu and Eastern Deccan.

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Another indication for the contacts between these lands is provided by the use of the Śaka era very early from about the 7th century A.D. in the Cambodian inscriptions. It is known that in the 6th-7th centuries A.D., the Śaka reckoning is seen in India only in the records of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, and they might have borrowed this dating tradition from the Vākaṭakas, who were their predecessors almost in the same area. Dr. D.C. Sircar has shown elsewhere, that the spread of the use of this era in the early period is co-extensive with the spread of the Chālukyan power.[32] In the case of Cambodia, this could as well be due to the extensive contacts that existed between that country and the Chālukyan territory.

4. *Vietnam*

The Vo-Canh (Table 1-11) inscription assigned to the third century A.D.[33] is the earliest record in Vietnam (Champa). Much discussion has already transpired regarding the source of the script of this inscription and nothing conclusive has been arrived at yet. But the hypothesis put forward recently by Filliozat, finding the South Tamil tradition in the record[34] appears to be more convincing. More interesting are the fifth century records of king Bhavavarman found at Cho-dinh,[35] My-Son,[36] etc., which are written in the Box-headed variety of the Brahmi script. Box-head is a feature characteristic of the fifth century scripts of Central India and Deccan. In this some regional sub-types can be distinguished like the 'full box' used in the lithic and copper records of the Kadambas of Karnataka in which a large square or rectangular head is fully scooped at the top of the letters, the 'outline box' of Central India where only the outline of the square or rectangle is incised, and the 'feeble box' of Eastern Deccan where the box though present is not shown prominently. The Champa inscriptions display the 'full box' of the Kadamba variety. Apart from the Box-head, the Champa letters have some forms[37] distinctly of the Western variety of Southern Brahmi as in the following :

Ga with clear box-head, similar to *ga* of line 3.
Ta is distinctly of the Western variety with semi-circular bottom.
Da is very close to the Talgunda variety with the straight bottom prong.
Na has looped bottom (l. 12) similar to Karnataka *na* (l. 1 and 3), and has the arched bottom in l. 13, a southern tradition but found in Karnataka also as in lines 2, 4 and 5.
Pa has the typical squarishness like Karnataka *p* (l. 1, 2, 3).
Ma has a feeble dent in the bottom line comparable to Karnataka *ma*.

The Vietnamese *bha*, and *ya* show some variation from the Karnataka variety, representing probably its autochtonus trend of development. More conspicuous however are the forms of *ka* and *ra*, in which the bottom re-curves are absent. This indicates the persistence of the writing tradition first exemplified in the Vo-Canh record. The phenomenon referred to in the context of early Siamese and Cambodian scripts, of the introduction of new Pallava features into the already extant writing tradition of the Karnataka variety, is seen here in an early context, with the difference

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that here the Karnataka variety of a later date is showing its impact on the earlier Vo-Canh writing tradition.

Again here, as in the Cambodian inscriptions, the compositions follow the Kadamba tradition of metrical constructions, as against the practice of using prose in the epigraphs of other areas of South India. The early use of the Śaka era commencing here from the 7th century A.D. is another indication of the contacts of Karnataka with Vietnam. There are a few more hints available in early Vietnamese inscriptions for the above contacts. A bilingual inscription, dated A.D. 829 discovered at Bakal[38] has in its Cham portion a reference to god *Praṇavēśvara.* This name used for Śiva, though it is of a type that could have been found anywhere, has not been noticed in India elsewhere than Karnataka. In Karnataka there is one *Praṇavēśvara*, which commanded devotion by many rulers of the land (as known from inscriptions) found at Talgunda, where the Kadamba inscription naming this god is seen even to this day. If viewed in the circumstantial background, this occurence of a particular name of a god commonly in these two regions becomes important. A few Champa inscriptions of the 5th-6th centuries A.D. mention a Ganga Raja, and a number of later kings there claim descent from this person.[39] The Vo-Canh inscription mentions the name of an early king of this area as Śrīmāra. The name Māra reminds a host of personal names like Śivamāra, Duggamāra, Mārasiṅga, seen commonly among the members of the Ganga family of Talakad in Karnataka. Māra is a common name among the Pandyas too, but this conjunction with the Ganga family is significant. One Praśastadharma of the family of Ganga Raja of Champa is known to have had an alternative name *Diṇḍika.*[40] *Diṇḍika* or *Diṇḍiga* is again a personal name borne by many members of the Ganga family of Karnataka. One Diṇḍiga of the Talakad Gangas is known from an inscription at Sravanabelgola.[41] This was also the name of the father of Avinita of the same line. It appears the progenitor of this family too had the name *Diṇḍiga.*[42] This correspondence in family and personal names of Karnataka and Champa cannot be just fortuitous; these are indicative of the close contacts between these areas, and the effect of this is reflected in the script also.

The above discussion based on an array of evidences palaeographical and otherwise leads to these inferences :

(1) There must have been contacts between Karnataka and some countries in South-East Asia in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

(2) The scripts of the earliest inscriptions of Burma, Thailand and Cambodia datable between 5th and 7th centuries have more likeness with the contemporary Karnataka script, and this could be their source too.

(3) Apart from Karnataka, other areas, particularly Tamilnadu maintained contacts with these countries, which also brought in influences on their writing tradition. In Burma, Thailand and Cambodia, the 'Southern tradition' of the South Indian variety of Brahmi made its impact on the already existing 'Western Tradition' i.e., the Karnataka variety. In

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Vietnam the Box-headed variety of the Karnataka tradition influenced the already existing script of the early 'South Tamil Tradition'.

But it should be made clear that these are only indicative and not definitive. A few shortcomings in the present way of approach can be recognized easily. As it has been pointed out already it is known that all the scriptal types of Southern India of the early period are generally brought under a single class viz., 'The South Indian Variety of Brahmi script'. It is very essential first of all that these varieties are carefully studied regionwise and periodwise and a definite picture is obtained relating to the forms which can be considered as typical to certain areas and ages. In the present essay such an attempt has been done broadly with reference to *ṇa*, *na*, *ta*, and *bha*, in which Southern and Western varieties within the South Indian Brahmi could be distinguished. Similar regional varieties in the case of *tha*, *sa* and *sha*, can also be made out but much comparative study could not be done here due to paucity of sufficient data from the inscriptions covered here. Even in these distinct varieties, there appears to have been some sort of intermixture at times, but rarely, due to purely incidental reasons. For example, in the letters of the five Karnataka inscriptions given in the table, the *na* with arch bottom can be seen along with the *na* of the looped bottom. Again in the Trichinopoly inscription the '*tha*' of two types can be seen. The origin, spread and type variations of the Box-headed script require attention. It is also a problem to explain the appearance of some forms in the Kadamba script, probably derived from some Central Indian source, instead of the Brahmi script current locally in the previous period. Similarly, the early Chālukyan script introduces certain forms a little alien to the local Kadamba tradition. Likewise, the successive development of the Pallava script with its variants has not been well worked out, though some general tables are available. Unless such regional studies are done in depth, any attempt to consider any of the letter features as typical of specific areas besets with difficulty. It is all the more so in the case of South-East Asian scripts. In the present approach several similar forms existing between the scripts of that area and South India have been attempted, but the possibility of the script having been introduced in one of these areas first, from which it could have been diffused to the other regions has not been taken into consideration. Such a proposition requires intensive study of the palaeography of a large number of inscriptions of that area. Except in the case of Burma, where a feeble attempt has been made by U Tha Myat, there is nothing of the sort available for other regions. Further the differences recognizable in the scripts of South-East Asia will have to be viewed more carefully with reference to the local tendencies towards change resulting in scripts of later centuries. Any of the external similarities noticed between the South-East Asian and Indian scripts when tendencies towards change existed may be just apparent, but not real, and attempts to draw conclusions may tend to be unscientific. In the light of these, the outcome of this essay, and also of all such previous attempts, will have to be viewed with some caution. These are only pointers to the need, or at the most, provisional conclusions.

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Details of Inscriptions used in the preparation of 'Table of Letters'

1. Talgunda	Shimoga District, Mysore State, India. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, No. Sk. 176, plate opposite, p. 200.
2. Halmidi	Hassan District, Mysore State, India. Archaeological Survey of Mysore—Annual Report for 1936, Inscription No. 16, pl. XXII.
3. Mrigesvarmans copper plate	From N. W. Mysore State, India. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXV, p. 151 and plate.
4. Badami	Bijapur District, Mysore State, India. Karnataka Inscriptions, Vol. II, Ins. No. 1 and plate I.
5. Aihole	Bijapur District, Mysore State, India. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 1 and plate.
6. Bawbawgyi, (pagoda)	Hmowaza, Prome District, Burma. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1911-12, p. 142, pl. LXVIII, fig. 1.
7. Maunggun gold plates	Prome District, Burma. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, p. 101 and plate.
8. Khan-Thevada	Thailand, Bulletin de' L'Ecole Francaise, de Extreme Orient Vol. XXII, p. 57. pl. II, (Letters from the contemporary record from Tham-Prasat (BEF XXX, pl. I) have also been included.
9. Cruoy—Ampil	Cambodia, Coedes, G.: Corpus der Inscriptions du Cambodge (Paris 1926), Vol. II, pl. LXII (K. 116).
10. Ta Proom	Bati province, Combodia, BEF XXXI, p. 5, pl. 1. V.
11. Vo-Canh	Khanh-Hoa District, Vietnam, BEF, LV, pls. X and XI.
12. Mi-Son	Southern Annam, Vietnam. L. Finot : Notes D'Epigraphie Indo-chinoise, (Hanoi 1918) pp. 4 and 5 and plates.
13. Hon-Cuc	Southern Annam, Vietnam, L. Finot : *ibid.*, plates between p. 4 and 5.
14. Pallava Copper plate	Uruvupalli grant of Simhavarman, BEF XXXI, pl. II (Uruvupalli is in South Andhrapradesh, adjoining Tamil territory).
15. Mahabalipuram	Chingleput District, Tamilnadu, India. Epigraphia Indica, X, p. 5, pl. I.

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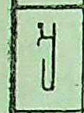
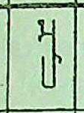
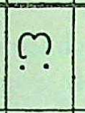
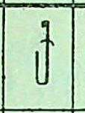
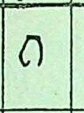
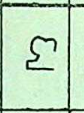
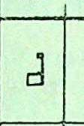
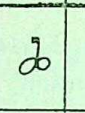
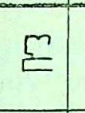
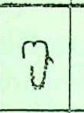
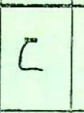
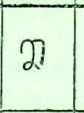
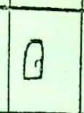
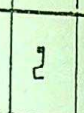
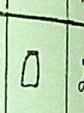
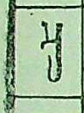
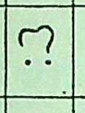
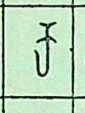
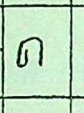
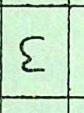
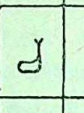
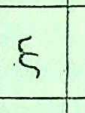
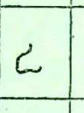
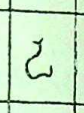
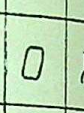
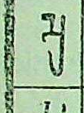
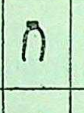
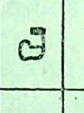
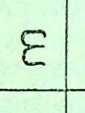
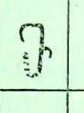
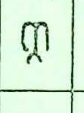
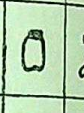
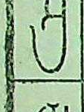
a	ā	i	ka	ga	ṅa	ca	cha	ja	ña	ṭa	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	na
																
																
															
															

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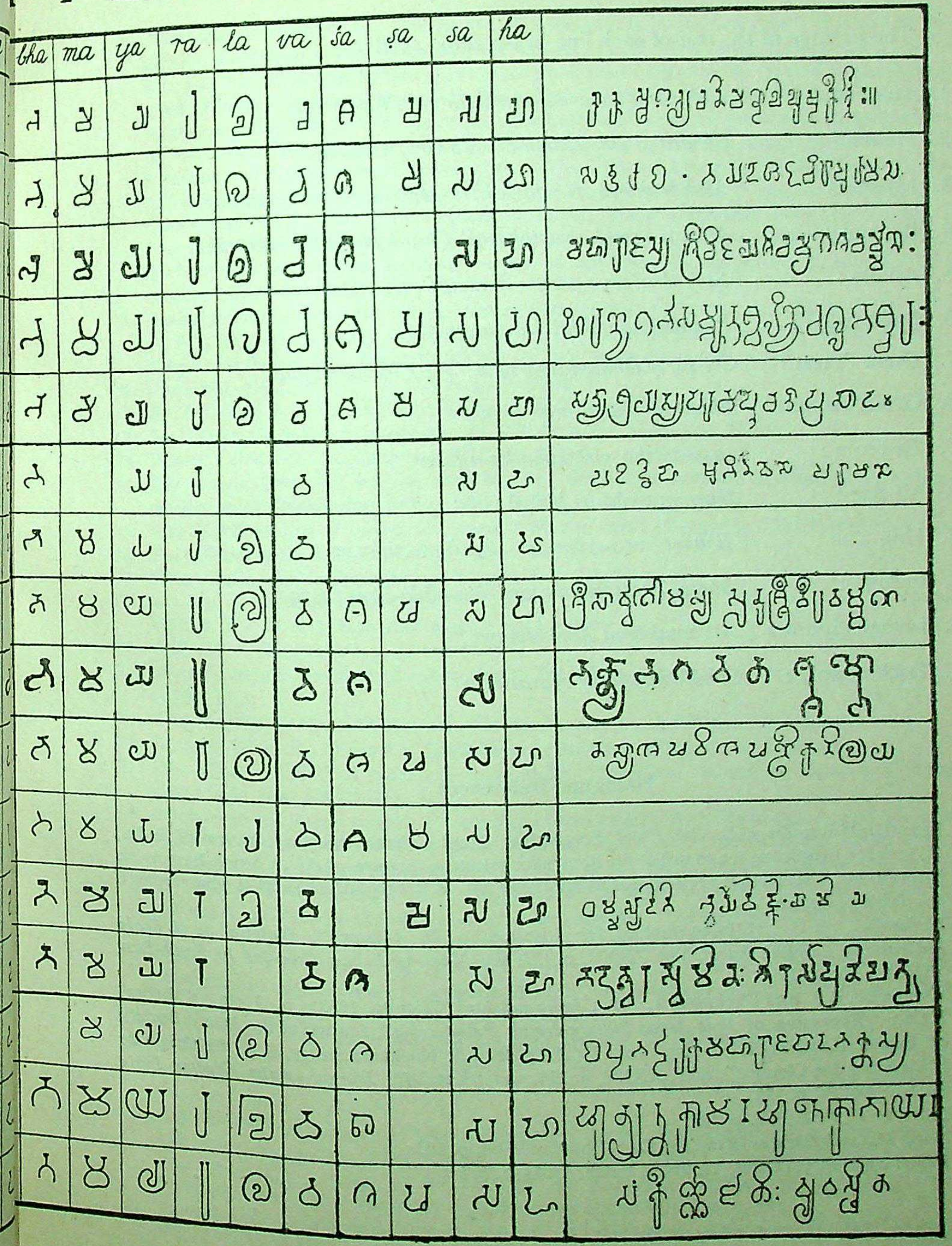

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16. Trichinopoly — Trichinopoly District, Tamilnadu, India. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XII, pls. I and II.

The passage at the end of each line in the table reads :

1. Talgunda[5]: *Kākustha ity-avani-maṇḍala-ghushṭa-kirttih.*
2. Halmidi : *Sēndraka-Ba. bhaya-dēsada vīrapurusasa.*
3. Mṛigeśas *Mahārājasya śri-vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśa-Varmmaṇah.*
4. Badami : *Hiraṇyagarbha-sambhūtaś'-Chalikyō-Vallabhēśvarah.*
5. Aihole : *Satyāśrayasya param-āptavatā prasādam*
6. Bawbawgyi : *Padiddhiho abhinivēśa paramana*
7. Tham Prasat : *Śri-sārvvabhaumasya-sūnus-Śri-Vīravarmmana*
8. Gruoy-Ampil : *Bhaktyā bhagavataś-Śambhō*
9. Ta-prom : *tasy-āśēsha viśēshanaika-nilaya*
10. Mi-Son : *dharmmasyād-iti bhūyō vijña. yāmi ya.*
11. Hon-Cuc : *Bhadrēśvara-svāminah śirasā praṇipatya.*
12. Pallava : *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-pāda-bhaktasya.*
13. Mahabalipuram : *Atyantakāma Anekobhaya*
14. Trichinopoly : *Samkīrṇṇa-jātih vyavasthita*

Notes and References

1. I am thankful to Dr. G.S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist (Retd.), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore for permitting me to utilise his library for referring the rare works on South-East Asian Inscriptions. My thanks are also due to my friend Mr. H.R. Raghunathan Bhat who prepared the Table of Letters.
2. Majumdar, R.C. "L'Paleographie des Inscriptions du Champa", *Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise de Extreme Orient*, Vol. XXXII, p. 127; and *Ancient Indian Colonies in South-East Asia*, pp. 17 and 19.
3. Chatterjee, B.R. and Chakravarti, N.P. ; *India and Java* (Calcutta, 1933), p. 3 etc., Chhabra, B.Ch.; "*Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava rule*", Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), III Series, Vol. I (1935), pp. 1 ff; Nilakanta Sastry, K.A. "L'Origin de L'Alphabet due Champa", *BEF*, XXXV, p. 233, and "Kataha", *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. V, p. 128.
4. Filliozat, J., *BEF.*, LV, p. 108.
5. *South Indian Influences in the Far East* (Bombay 1949), p. 103.
6. *Indian Epigraphy*, (Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1965), p. 202 ff.

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7. "Karnataka contribution to the spread of Indianism in South-East Asia", Studies in Asian History, *Proceedings of the Asian History*, Congress, 1961 (New Delhi, 1969), p. 286.
8. It is well known to epigraphists that the scripts of South India of the period under consideration genetically fall under a single family and are usually classed under the term 'The Southern Variety of Brahmi Script'. So the differences of regionalistic types are to be distinguished more on the tendencies of letter forms which prominently display themselves in different areas as Kannada and Pallava-grantha in later times. The Table of Letters appended herewith shows the inscriptions from Karnataka (lines 1 to 5), Burma (lines 6 and 7), Thailand (line 8) Cambodia (lines 9 to 10), Vietnam (lines 11, 12 and 13) and Tamilnadu (lines 14, 15 and 16). The last group has been included for ready comparison and to show some evidence relating to the later influence of the Southern variety of the South-Indian script on scripts of some countries discussed in the essay.
9. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1911-12, p. 142; 1926-27, p. 172; 1927-28, p. 145; 1929-30, p. 182; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma*, 1942, p. 22; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, p. 102; XXXII, p. 103; *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 210.
10. From *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1911-12, p. 142, pl. LXVIII, fig. 1.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 101 and plate XXXII. *ARASI.*, 1926-27, p. 179 and 200, Pl. XLII g & h.
12. See Bühler, G. *Indian Paleaography*, Pl. VII, Columns XXIII and XXIV.
13. Bühler, : *ibid.*, Pl. XV, Column XXIII, No. 26.
14. The simple forms of *ma*, *va*, *cha*, *ka*, etc., do not reveal such. *a*, *ā* and *ga* are somewhat peculiar in this inscription.
15. Taw Sien Ko : *List of Inscriptions found in Burma*, Part I (Rangoon), 1921, Introduction, p. iv.
16. *The History of the Mon-Burmese Alphabet* (Rangoon).
17. Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 210; *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 103.
18. *An. Rep. Arch. Survey, Burma*, 1917, pp. 42-43; Nilakanta Sastry, K.A., *op. cit.*, p. 15; *BEF*, 1905, p. 152, Note 3. Now this image is not traceable.
19. *BEF*, III, p. 422; XXXII, p. 57 and plate II.
20. Several letters in the chart have been in the Tham Prasat inscription of the same king (*BEF*, XXXI, Pl. I).
21. I am thankful to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, who kindly brought this fact to my notice.
22. Ramesh, Dr. K.V., *History of South Kanara* (Dharwar, 1971), pp. 44, 48, 88, etc.
23. Dhavalikar, M.K. and Nagaraja Rao, M.S.; "Honnavar Plates of Kaikeya Chitrasena, year 1", *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVII, p. 33.
24. Intervention of Indian powers in the politics of South-East Asian countries is nothing but an extension of the local political game itself, in which it was natural of any power having an upper hand, to try to extend its sphere of influence. In the Kolhapur plates of Vinayaditya of the Badami Chālukya family, it is clearly stated that after subduing the Pallavas, he extracted tributes from *Kamera* (*Khmer*) and other *dvīpādhipas*. The exploits of the Chōḷa kings are well known. If the available records are studied carefully many such instances may come to light. For a discussion of the above view, see the present writer's article "Chālukya Vinayaditya's Intervention in Cambodian Politics" in *'Studies in Indian History and Culture', Prof. P.B. Desai Felicitation Volume*, Dharwar, 1971.
25. Coedes, G., *Corpus du Inscriptions du Cambridge*, Vol. II, Planche, LXII (K. 116).
26. *BEF*, XXXI, Pl. V.
27. Majumdar, R.C., *Hindu Colonies in the Far-East*, p. 155; *Ancient Indian Colonies in South-East Asia*, p. 7, etc.
28. Hall, D.G.E. : *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 7, etc. One scholar has gone to the extent of identifying Kaundnya (Kiao Chenju) as Kadamba Takinji (?) mentioned in the inscription from Malavalli, a place in the heart of the Kadamba territory in Western Karnataka (Subramaniam, T.N., *The Pallavas of Kanchi in South-East Asia*, p. 17).
29. *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. V, p. 156; *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 202; Majumdar, R.C.; *Kambuja Deśa*, p. 57.

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30. *BER*, XXVIII, p. 43.
31. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 27; *The Pallavas of Kāñchī in South-East Asia*, p. 61.
32. *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 259 and 264.
33. There are other views also. For details see *BEF*, LV, p. 188.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, II, p. 186; Bergaine, A.: *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, p. 26, No. XXI; *JRASBL*, I, p. 48.
36. *BEF*, II, p. 187.
37. Compare lines 1 and 3 with 12 and 13.
38. *BEF*, III, p. 633; Majumdar, R.C., *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far-East*, Vol. I, *Champa*, Book III, *Inscription* No. 28.
39. Majumdar, R.C., *Ancient Indian Colonies in South-East Asia*, p. 29; *Champa*, Book III Inscription Nos. 7, 12, etc.
40. *Champa*, Book III, *Inscription* No. 12.
41. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, Inscription No. 1.
42. Krishna Rao, M.V.; *Gangas of Talakad*, p. 25; *Pallavas of Kanchi in South-East Asia*, p. 54.

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9

NONHA NARSINGH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHOJA [II]

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL*
AND
MAKHAN LAL**

The inscription came to the notice of Shri Makhan Lal, co-author of this article in course of archaeological reconnaisance in connection with his research work. The stone bearing this inscription was found lying on the mound near the village Nonha Narsingh (26° 38″ N. 80° 11″ E.) in Kanpur district. The north-west of Chaubepur railway station on the Kanpur-Farrukhabad line and seven km. south-west of Sheorajpur town. To the east of the village, on the right bank of the river Non, there is an ancient mound measuring about 500 m. east-west and 200 m. north-south and rising to a height of 6 m. from surrounding fields. In ancient times, the river flowed beside the mound, but later it changed its course and cut a gorge right through the middle of it.

The site is of considerable archaeological interest. All over the mound one can see ruins of masonry work, pottery and other antiquities belonging to ancient and mediaeval periods. The pottery types met with include the Black-and-red ware, the painted Grey Ware and the Northern Black Polished Ware. Two modern temples came to be built on the mound recently. The one, on the eastern part of the mound, is known as Durgā temple, and the other, on the western part of it, as Noneshwar Mahādeva. In the former, the statue of a female deity is the object of worship, and, in the latter, a Śivalinga of red sandstone is under worship.

The inscription is fragmentary, as the top and side portions of the stone slab have been lost. The missing fragments could not be traced inspite of the best efforts of the discoverer of the epigraph. As such, it is not possible to make out its full

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original contents. It, however, seems that the last line of the extant portion of the epigraph was the last line of the complete original epigraph.[1] This assumption is based on two considerations. In the first place, the area below line 14 is sufficient to contain one more line, judging from the spacing between the lines of the inscription. But this space is blank. Secondly, the extant last two lines, 13th and 14th, bear the names of the composer and the engraver of the inscription respectively. It is well to remember that in epigraphs of similar nature names of the composer and the engraver find mention at the end. Metrical and other considerations suggest that either there was one or no letter before *gurum̐* in the third line, and the vertical stroke after it shows the end of second *pāda* of the first verse, which (*pāda*) begins with [*r*] *Vyāladitya* in line 2. The first line and the beginning of the second line obviously contained the first *pāda* of that verse. It thus seems quite likely that the first line of the original epigraph. The reconstruction of the text of the verses 3-6 (see text) indicates that there is a gradual tendency of increasing the number of letters from line 9 onwards. A few letters can be adjusted within the same space by writing them a little closer to each other or by reducing their size. It, however, seems more likely that the width of the portion covered by the writing, in the lower portion of the stone was more in comparison to the upper one, allowing more space for writing in each line.

The letters of the epigraph have been engraved neatly, boldly and meticulously. The language is Sanskrit and the text throughout is in verse. A vertical stroke marks the end of the half verse, and two vertical strokes that of a full verse. The extant portion shows that there were six verses.

The letters of the inscription bear a close resemblance with those of the Pratīhāra epigraphs of the tenth century A.D.[2] For this reason as also for considerations of the historical information contained in the epigraph discussed below, it should be dated to the first half of the tenth century A.D. As regards the shape of the letters of the epigraph, the letter *g* has a close resemblance with the letter *ś*, as also *bh* with *h*, and *dh* with *ch*. Some of the letters, particularly *k*, *d*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* are almost identical with their Devanāgarī counterparts. The *mātrās* *ā*, *ī* and *ū*, and the symbols for *anusvāra* and *visarga* also resemble very closely with those met with in the Devanāgarī script. However, *mātrā i* is indicated by a curved vertical line, instead of a straight vertical one as is the case in the Devanāgarī script. In the case of the *mātrās* *ē* and *ō* the slanting stroke above the letters are slightly curved and more horizontally placed.

As regards orthography, the points worth mentioning are : the use of *v* for *b* (as in *Vyālāditya*, line 2, and *vandhaṁ*, line 13), duplication of *v* when followed by *r* (as in *[r]Vyālāditya*, line 2; *munērvva*-line 11; *Salavaṇāsindhorvva*-, line 13; *murvvīṁ*, line 5), duplication of *t* when preceded by *r* (as in *kīrttēḥ*, line 6), duplication of *t* when followed by *r* (as in *yattrādhāya*, line 3), use of *m* for *anusvāra* (as in *samvāhyamānaḥ*, line 4), and use of *anusvāra* in place of *m* at the end of the half verse (as in *gurum̐*, line 3).

Because of the fragmentary character of the epigraph, there are many lacunae

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in the text, and hence it is not possible to give its faithful translation. We have tried to present below the general idea of the contents, line by line, partly through reconstruction of the text on the basis of the context and partly on the analogy of the text of similar other epigraphs of the period.

Of line 1, only five letters at the right end are partly preserved, the rest being completely lost. Of these, the last three can be deciphered as *tanaya* [ḥ].

Line 2 refers to one Bālāditya who put his foot on earth (*kshitau kṛita-padaṁ*). This may either refer to his birth or to his conquest of some territory. We may also suggest that in the first line the name of Bālāditya's father with or without his epithets should have been mentioned, as the word *tanayaḥ* in that line indicates.

In line 3, mention is made of Bhoja. The letter that follows *ja* of Bhoja is *de* after which the letters have been lost. We feel that *de* was followed by *va* the complete name being *Bhojadēva*. He has been likened to Madhujit (literally 'conqueror of [the demon] Madhu) i.e. Vishṇu. There is also a reference to Brahmā (Vedhas) in this line.

In line 4, the description 'lying on the serpent bed, with feet being pressed by [the Goddess] Śrī (*bhogiśayane samvāhya-mānaḥ-śriyā*)' obviously refers to Vishṇu.

The mention of dark forests on the sea-shore (*Śyāmavelāvana*) in line 5 is meant to convey that the territory of the king or his fame extended upto sea-shore.

In line 6, there is a reference to the intelligence and bright fame of some one and also to his pious son, whose name Śubhāditya occurs in the line that follows (line 7).

Line 8 records the performance of five great sacrifices by some one, along with his wives. The five great sacrifices must obviously refer to the *devayajña* (i.e. making offerings into fire in the name of the deities), pitṛiyajña (i.e. offering *Śrāddha* to the forefathers), *bhūtayajña* (offering a *bali* to the beings), *mānushayajña* (offering food to men—*Brāhmāṇas*), and *brahmayajña* (studying the scriptures).

In line 9, perhaps the same person (i.e. Śubhāditya) has been referred to as expert in imparting instructions to kings (*kshitip-opadeśa-guru*).

In line 10, there is a reference to the learned Brāhmaṇas (*vidvad-dvijān*), and the missing portion of the line seems to have conveyed the idea of their being respected and/or suitably rewarded. It seems that all the references that follow the name Śubhāditya (line 7) are related to him in some way or the other.

Line 11 refers to some lady, most likely to Śubhāditya's wife, as respected. This very line also gives the name Padmanābha. Padmanābha is a name of Vishṇu, who, as seen above; has been mentioned in lines 3 and 4, and therefore, is natural to infer that the reference is to that deity. But this, however, does not seem to be the case because the name Padmanābha is followed by the appellation of *muni*. In our view, the line recorded the performance of an act of piety (which on the analogy of other epigraphs we may suggest was the main purport of the inscription) performed on the

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instruction of saint *muni* Padmanābha who might well have been the preceptor of Subhāditya and/or his wife. Bits of evidence indicate that, in all likelihood, the pious act was related to the construction of a Vaishṇava temple at the site. The epigraph, as seen above, refers to Vishṇu as *Madhujit* and also to his lying on *Śesha* bed. Further the name of the village, Nonha *Narasingh*, is after *Narasiṁha* the man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu. The local tradition also tells us that the village derives its name from God Narasimha. Quite likely, an idol of Narasimha was installed in the temple. It may, however, be noted that no remains of such a temple have so far been traced. It seems that in course of time the temple crumbled. The place, however, continued to be regarded as sacred throughout the centuries, and in modern times two temples—one Śaiva and the other dedicated to goddess Durgā have come up at the site. Obviously Śaivism and Śāktism became more popular than Vaishṇavism in that region.

Line 12 describes a lady with a likeness to Śri (*Śrīr-iva rūpiṇī*). The extant line begins with *mnā*. We restore it as *nāmnā* and suggest that this was preceded by the name of the lady who has been compared with *Śrī*.

Line 13 mentions one Lavaṇāsindhu as composer of the text of the epigraph. The word *janmunaḥ* at the beginning of the extant portion of the last (14th) line would indicate that either the parentage or place of birth of the person was mentioned in the missing part. In that very (14th) line, after *likhitā Śrī* there was perhaps the name and also a few particulars of the engraver of the epigraph, as is the case with other epigraphs of similar nature.

The epigraph assumes special significance because we find mention therein of two important historical personages—Bhoja and Bālāditya. All bits of evidence—phlaeography, findspot (the site being close to Kanauj, the capital of the Gurjara Pratīhārā) and the reference to Bālāditya—strongly indicate that Bhoja of the epigraph is identical with king Bhoja of the Gurjara Pratīhāra dynasty. Bālāditya of the inscription is to be identified with the homonym of the Guhila dynasty of Dhod, known from his Chatsu inscription,[3] in which it is recorded that this feudatory's great-grandfather, Harsha,[4] conquered the kings of *udīchya* and presented to king Bhoja such horses as were expert in traversing the Indus water.

The epigraph being fragmentary, details regarding the relationship between Bhoja and Bālāditya have been lost. But as the name of Bālāditya (occurring in line 2) is followed by that of Bhoja in the next (line 3), it is reasonable to assume that they were contemporaries, and that Bālāditya, like his predecessor, was a feudatory of the Gurjara Prātīhāras. Bhoja, the overlord of Harsha Guhila, is taken to be identical with Bhoja I (*c.* A.D. 836-85) of the Gurjara Pratīhāra dynasty. It is hardly likely that Bhoja I who was a contemporary of Harsha was also a contemporary of the latter's great-grandson, Bālāditya. Therefore Bhoja of our epigraph should be identified with Bhoja II (*c.* A.D. 910-14) who was a grandson of Bhoja I.

Likewise, because of the damaged condition of the epigraph, the relationship between Bālāditya and Subhāditya cannot be ascertained with certainty. But since both have names ending in *āditya*, it is tempting to suggest that there was a close

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kinship between them. From the Chatsu Inscription we know that Bālāditya had three sons bearing the names Vallabharāja, Vigraharāja and Devarāja respectively. No further information is available about them from that source, and for that matter, from any other source. The non-mention of Śubhāditya's name amongst Bālāditya's sons in that epigraph would rule out the father-son relationship, unless it is presumed that he was born after the engraving of the Chatsu Inscription, or that Subhāditya is not a name but a title of one of the sons of Bālāditya mentioned in that inscription. If, however, Subhāditya be a name, as it seems to be (and not a title), our epigraph brings to light a prince in the Guhila dynasty, not known so far from any other source.[5]

Text

1. .....*tanayaḥ*.....
2. .....*rvvā* (*Bā*)*lāditya iti kṣhitau kṛita padaṁ*.....
3. [*gu*]*ruṁ* [/] *yatr-ādhāya cha Vēdhas-īva Madhujit śrī Bhōja de*.....
4. .....[*ti*]*m-eva bhogi śayanē saṁvā* (*saṁvā*) *hyamānaḥ śriyā* [//].....
5. .....*laya parichaya śyāma velā vanāntām-urvvīṁ gu*.....
6. .....*m-avadhiyā Vibhrataḥ śubhrakīrtteḥ* [/] *sūnuḥ puṇyaiḥ*.....
7. .....*śri śubhāditya nāmā yēn-āyaṁ* Chakra[va].....
8. .....*kāmo* [//] *dāraiḥ pañcha-mahākratūn-pra*.....
9. .....*kshitip-opadeśa guruṇā nyāsyam*.....
10. .....[/*].....[*ta*]*mudo vidvad-dvijān-ity-aho puṁ*...
11. .....*bhyādarī* [//] *Padmanābha muner-vva*.....
12. .....[/*[.....[*mnā*]*yasya śrīr-iva rūpiṇī* [//].....
13. .....[/] *Va*(*ba*)*ndham salavaṇ-āsindhor-vvaḥ*.....[//]
14. .....*vvuka janmanaḥ* [/] *likhitā śrī*.....[/]

Notes and References

1. But the possiblity of a few letters at the beginning of the next line on the missing portion of the stone cannot be ruled out.
2. E.g., the Chatsu Inscription of Bālāditya, *E.I.*, XII, pp. 10-17, plate facing.
3. *E.I.*, XII, pp. 10-17.
4. The genealogy from Harsha to Bālāditya runs as : Harsha—Guhila I—Bhaṭṭa—Bālāditya (*E.I.*, XII, p. 12).
5. Very likely he was a grandson of Bālāditya and his father's name was mentioned in the missing part of the epigraph, somewhere between line 2 (mentioning the name Bālāditya) and line 7 (mentioning the name Śubhāditya).

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10

INSCRIBED POTSHERDS (A.D. 100-400) : A CULTURAL STUDY

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The study of inscribed potsherds has remained neglected so far, although these provide important information regarding the cultural life of those days. An attempt has been made here to study pottery legends (belonging to the period between first century A.D. to fourth century A.D.) discovered from Mohenjodaro,[1] Tor-Dherai,[2] Peshawar,[3] Hastināpur[4] and Salihuṇḍam.[5] These inscribed potsherds are mostly rimless and seem to have represented pots of different dimensions. The legends on few of them which are quite significant from the point of view of the Buddhist religion have not been properly interpreted. The legends are written with ink and brushes on the part of rim, and some of them stamped and incised below the neck and shoulders of the pots. The process of writing had been done before the ware was baked and finished by the potter.

The Buddhist inscriptions on pots are recorded either in *Kharoṣṭhī* or in *Brāhmī* script, and their legends are either in Prakrit or in Sanskrit languages. Though the inscriptions in ancient India were engraved mostly under the supervision of proficient persons or concerned administrative officer,[6] the painted or inscribed legends on the potsherds were got written by someone or by the potters themselves is difficult to say. The extant inscribed potsherds of this period are of two categories—those belonging to individuals and others pertaining to Buddhist sects.

The sherds discovered at Mohenjo-daro, Peshawar and Hastinapur bear individual names, whereas the sherds related to Buddhist faith have been unearthed from Tor-Dherai, Peshawar (in North Western frontier) and Sālhuṇḍum.

From Mohenjo-daro, a well known Harappan settlement of the protohistoric period (now in Pakistan), a few pottery legends were recovered from the upper levels of the mound. These are either written in *Brāhmī*[7] or in *Kharoṣṭhī*[8] characters. The

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contents of the *Kharoṣṭhī* legends could not be understood properly whereas the Brāhmī legends written on light red surface of the potsherds are assignable according to Marshall to the Kushāṇa period.[9]

The deciphered legends are '*Bhatanandi*'[10] and '*Bhadata*'[11] which Marshall interprets in the sense of the names of some mendicants or either the name of the owner of the pot or the donor of it.[12] Probably, the names indicated some monks or disciples, who were the recipients of these potsherds as gifts. The word *Bhadata* seem to be a corrupt form of *Bhadanta* a honorific title used for Buddhist monks.

From Hastināpur (District Meerut, Uttar Pradesh) excavations B.B. Lal has unearthed two pottery legends in Brāhmī. One of these contains '*Sadhujatasa*'[13] meaning 'one belonging to a noble caste' (probably the name of some individual). While the other retains only three letters '*Nikasa*'[14] others being broken. The meaning of these, however, is not clear. These two potsherds were discovered from the middle and late level of period IV and are assigned to first and second century A.D. respectively.[15] A sherd discovered from Peshawar bears the legend '*sadhla*'[16] denoting the name of some individual. The legend has been identified by Chhabra with one found on a gold ring from Takshśilā.

Potsherds bearing Buddhist legends

The longest legends on the potsherds were those discovered by Sir Aurel Stein from Tor-Dherai now in Baluchistan, of which fifty coming from the Buddhist remains are written in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī characters.[17] The Brāhmī legends could be read properly while the remaining, which are in Kharoṣṭhī contain fragments of identical legends. The inscriptions were read by Konow who compared their characters with the Wardak, the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada and Niya documents assigned to second century A.D.[18] The language of the inscription which is Sanskrit is compared by him with the Sui-vihar kurram record and the Peshawar inscription of the years 20 and 21 respectively. The language shows considerable influence of Prākrit. It reads :

"Shahi-Yola-Miras(Y) a (or, -s (r) a) Viharasvamis (y) a (or, -s (r) a) deya-dharmo (or, deyaṁdh (y) armoyaṁ prapa [Svakiya (or, [a*] tniya Yolamira-Shahi-Vihara] Saṁ (or, Sa) ghe-chaturdeśe acharayanaṁ sa (or, s (y) a) rvastivadinaṁ pratigrahe I to chās (r) amaparit-yagato agre [ma*] tapitrinaṁ [pratiyaṁ] śo Sarvasa (or, s) (r) tvanaṁ agre partiyaṁso (or, pratia-mso) dharmapatis (y) a cha dirghayau [to bha*vatu]".

Translation

(of shāhi Yola-Mira, the Master of Vihāra, this waterhall (is) the religious gift, in his own Yola-Mira-shāhi Vihāra, to the order of the four quarters in the acceptance of Sarvāstivādin teachers. And from this right donation may there be in future a share for (his) mother and father in future, a share for all being and long life for the master of law).

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The above inscription is related to some Yola-Mira. Two similar names i.e. Yolamonalatra and Miraboyanasa, are found from a Takshśilā copper[19] seal and Takht-i-bahi[20] inscription. Yola-Mira, of the legend bore the title *shāhi*, who seems an administrative officer of that region. Konow surmised that Yola-Mira family hailed from the Khotan country and belonged to little Yau-chi[21] tribes. But his feudatory title *shāhi* shows that he may have belonged to Saka-family. The Jain literature *Kālakāchārya Kathānaka* also testify to the fact that Saka rulers bore the title *shāhi*.[22] According to C.C. Dasgupta the feudatory (*sāmanta*) was called *Sabi* and their overlord *Sabunu-Sabi* (king of kings).[23] Allahabad pillar inscription also refers to Samudragupta's political relation with *Shāhi Shāhaṇushāhi Saka Murandās* etc. who ruled over the north western parts of India.[24] According to Konow Yola-Mira was a local governor in the Kandhar region, under the Kushāṇas. It is also possible, that Yola-Mira may have been a *Sāmanta* or subordinate king of that region under the Śakas instead of the Kushāṇas.

The word *prāpā* (Sanskrit word *prāpā*)[25] in the legend is interesting. It was a place where the water was distributed to the travellers. Shāhi Yola-Mira who was the master of shāhi-yola-Vihāra, had dedicated the prapā (water bar) for the acceptance of Sarvāstivādin teachers (Āchāryas).

The Śaka rulers were the supporters of Buddhism particularly the sarvāstivādin, a branch of Hinayāna sect. Numerous donations were made during this period by them as is evident from Mathura lion capital of the time of Rañjuvala and Sodāsa.[26] The lion capital inscription tells us that the chief queen of Mahakṣtrapa Rajula, daughter of prince Kharoṣṭha, mother of Nandādika alongwith others had established at the site just outside the consecrated boundary (*Nihsima*) the relic of Bhagavān Śākyamuni, the Buddha. A stone pillar crowned with a lion was erected and a monastery (*saṅghārāma*) was built for the acceptance of the monks of the four quarters, particularly *sarvāstivādins*. The inscription of the time of Kshatrapa Śodāsa[27] refers to a donation of some land made for Āchārya Buddhila of Nāgaraka who refuted the argument of *Mahāsaṁghikas*. The inscription further refers to *dharma*, *sangha* and the Śakas of the Śaka country. A similar donation was made at Sarnath by Bhikshubala[28] and these were also installed in the *chakram* used by Buddha for his meditation. The donor wished to share religious merit with his parents, his disciple, with another monk called Buddhamitra as also with Kshatrapas Vanaspara and Kharapallāna. Both Bala and Buddhamitra were Srvāstivādins.

Twenty-four pottery legends were found from Peshawar which have been deciphered and published by Chhabra.[29] These are of various dimensions. All except two fragments belong to bigger pots or pitchers. One of the sherd contains incomplete legend .....Danamukha.....[30] which suggests either of a gift for some monk or a mendicant. Chhabra, has compared it with the donative Kharoṣṭhī inscription of one of the three earthern jars found from Pālātu-Dherai mound (presently housed in Peshāwar Museum).[31] He has further surmised that the present sherd was possibly a piece of a pot, a religious gift donated by an individual whose name is lost. The other has an

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incomplete legend.....*Mahasaṁghigaṇa Parigraha*,[32] which he is inclined to compare with the Wardak vase inscription of the year 51 belonging to the late Kushāṇa period. The inscription refers to a donation for some Mahāsaṁghika teachers.[33] Yet another sherd contains the legend.....*Boddhmitras*' (of Buddhamitra),[34] which in fact appears to be the concluding part of the inscription, perhaps the name of some person as rightly contended by Chhabra. Probably the name of some Buddhist monk or disciple similar to that appearing on the Sarnath Buddhist image inscription of Kanishka. Still another legend reads *Deyadharmṁa*.[35] The word evidently denotes Deyadharma in Sanskrit also found in the Sarnath seated Buddha image inscription.[36] It shows that the vessels were donated to some Buddhist monk.

Inscribed potsherds from Salihuṇḍam

S. Gurumurty has referred to 69 potsherds bearing Brāhmī inscriptions of fragmentary nature from Sālihuṇḍam District, Vizagapatam (Andhra Pradesh),[37] which belong to A.D. 100 to A.D. 400. These inscriptions record pious gifts made to Budhhist monks. The names of the donors are however not found on these potsherds, a few of them refer to government officials, teachers, architects and servants. The pottery on which the legends are written are of various types—Black-and-red ware, all black ware, red slipped ware, coarse grey ware and rouletted ware.

The above study thus points out the significance of pottery legends for the history of Buddhism, particularly Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsāṁghika sects. The Sarvāstivāda was a branch of Hīnayāna sect whose history goes back to the reign of Aśoka.[38] The followers of the Buddha, after his demise were divided into several groups, such as Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins Mahāsāṁghika and others. According to Sarvāstivāda tradition the monk Upagupta led Aśoka to all the most important places associated with the life of the Buddha. Nalinaksha Dutta, however, holds a different view. He thinks that the Sarvāstivādins did not find congenial home at Pataliputra in Magadha during Aśoka's reign.[39] The Śaka-Kushāṇa rulers also patronized Sarvāstivāda Buddhism. Consequently, it became popular in Gandhara and Surasena region, the stronghold of the Śaka-Kushāṇas.[40]

The inscriptional evidence (of second to fourth century A.D.), also corroborates the existence of Sarvāstivādins in Mathura and N.W. region. Their main centre of activities was Mathura from where they spread in other parts of the country. The Sarvāstivādin teachers were reputed further dialectics in philosophical discussion against the Mahāsāṁghikas. Donation from dignitories as well as from common devotees were easily available to them indicates their popularity.[41]

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2. Konow, Stein, *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 173, pl. XXXV. The site situated near Dabar-Kot, seven miles south east of Duki Tehsil, in Thal Valley, District Lora-lai, Baluchistan. Sri Aurel Stein who conducted the excavation discovered here Buddhist remains and inscribed potsherds, which were later read by Konow.
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33. Konow, Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 170, pl. XXXIII.

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34. Chhabra, B.Ch., *op. cit.*, p. 127, fig. XXIV.
35. Marshall, Sir John, *op. cit.*, p. 317, pl. XCIV.
36. Sircar, D.C., *ARIE.*, p. 43.
37. Gurumurty, S., *op. cit.*, p. 126.
38. Bagchi, S., *Buddhist Sanskrit Text*, No. 16, Mula Sarvāstivāda Vinayavastu, p. ii (1867).
39. Dutt, N., *op. cit.*, p. 140. He refers on the basis of '*Divyāvadāna*' that the Sarvāstivādins existed and were prosperous in the reign of Pusyamitra Sunga.
40. Warder, A.K., *Indian Buddhism*, p. 345 (Varanasi, 1970); Bajpai, K.D. and Pandey, V.S., *op. cit.*, p. 357.
41. Dutt, N., *op. cit.*, p. 142.

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11

THE PRAKRIT

SHASHI KANT

Namisādhu seems to have struck the right note when he explains the word *Prākṛita* as derived from *prakṛiti* in the sense of natural speech free from the rules of grammarians.[1] He wrote it in A.D. 1068 when the literary forms of Prakrit had already been fossilized. The other explanation offered by him, deriving it from *prāk kṛita*, to mean 'created of old',[2] is in consonance with his faith that the language of the *Ārsha* canon, *Ardha-Māgadhī*, is the language of the gods,[3] and is not very relevant to a philological discussion.

In the sixties of the 19th century, E.B. Cowell brought out Vararuci's *Prākṛita-Prakāśa* with the Manoramā commentary of Bhāmaha, and thenceforth Prakrit has engaged the attention of many linguists and indologists. The pioneers in the field are Hormānn Jacobi, Richard Pischel, A.F.R. Hoernle, George Bühler, Sten Konow, A.C. Woolner, Muni Jina Vijaya, Banarasi Das Jain and A.N. Upadhye. The linguistic survey of George Grierson, the philological deliberations of Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the volumes of Maurice Winternitz on the history of Indian literature, the discovery of Prakrit and Sanskrit texts, and an in-depth study of the Pāli, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and Sanskrit works, as also of the epigraphic and numismatic material, during the last one hundred years or so, have expanded and elaborated the problem of the linguistic bases of the Indian panorama.

During all this effort a bias was assiduously titled towards finding some remote ancestry to link the Indian intelligentsia with the Euro-Anglican rulers, to build up the myth that India was a no-man's land and it was filled by the *Dāsa* (Dravidians), *Nishāda* (Austrics), *Kirāta* (Mongoloids) and *Ārya* (Nordics, the vast Indo-European community, branching off to the Indo-Iranian from which shot out the Indo-Aryans who composed the Vedas in the *Sapta-Sindhu*), and lastly, to consign the entire literary effort, nay the speech effort itself, to the Indo-Aryan genius as if whoever preceded them were a mute people. The fallacy of this stupendous task is obvious but the emotional strains ingrained therein dissuade from an objective appraisal

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To put it briefly, the Indian linguistic history has been built up on the premise that there are three strata of language development in India, firstly the Old Indo-Aryan representing successively the Vedic, the Brāhmaṇa and the classical Sanskrit (developed out of the Udīchya or northern dialect of the Vedic Aryans and codified by *Pāṇini*); secondly, the Middle Indo-Aryan, representing the Prakrits developing out of the *Madhyadeśīya* and *Prāchya* dialects of the Vedic Aryans, and the *Apabhraṁśa*, a further debasement of the *Devabhāshā*; and lastly, the New Indo-Aryan representing different vibhāshā which finally emerged as the present-day vernaculars.

Three potent factors have been kept out of sight in projecting this development. One such factor is that Sanskrit was confined to a small minority which assiduously maintained its aloofness from the masses; the masses spoke different tongues which were the so many patois hardly related to Sanskrit. The second important factor is that there is specific evidence on record that a *lingua franca* was in vogue throughout the sub-continent as far north-west as the Kabul valley, as for north as the Nepalese Tarai, as far east as the Bengal coast, as far south as the North Pennar and as far west as Saurashtra, which was intelligible to and used by the people in general with slight phonetic variations, and was written and read in a common script throughout the land to the south and east of the Sutlej, much in the same way as Hindi written in Devanagari is intelligible to all Indians today expect when they take a stance like the Sanskrit-*nishṭha* Brahmins of Aśoka Maurya's days, e.g., the Urdu photagonists, or get worked up with regional chauvinism fanned for political ends. And the third substantial factor is that out of the numerous dialects only one becomes the *koine* or literary norm, just as *Khaḍī-bolī* is the *koine* of Hindi language and Meridian dialect is the *koine* of English language and that grammar follows, and does not precede, the language. The people's language is represented by the Aśokan edicts and the numerous records of the Sātavāhanas, Śuṅgas and Kalingas, as also of the Greeks, Śakas and Kushāṇas, up to the 2nd century A.D. What has come down to us as the Prakrit literature, be it *Pāli* of the Buddhists, *Mahārāshṭrī* and *Śaurasenī* as well as *Ardha-Magadhī* of the Jains, or *Māgadhī*, *Māhārāshṭrī*, *Śaurasenī* and *Paiśāchi* Prakrit of the Sanskrit dramatists, at the time of its redaction the literary form had already been fossilized and, if not never, it seldom represented the popular medium. Although Vararuci, who wrote Vārtikas on Pāṇini and lived probably in 5th century A.D., is the first to give a grammar for Prakrit, and Bhāmaha (assigned to the 7th century A.D.) wrote commentary on it, the most important of the Prakrit grammars is the chapter VIII of the *Siddha*-Hemachandra of Hemachandra Sūri (A.D. 1088-1172) and interestingly all these grammarians were Sanskritists who added only a chapter on Prakrit in their work on Sanskrit grammar. This can explain that the literary Prakrit as extant now was systematized, and the works were possibly cleansed of colloqualisms by the learned pundits to bring them in tune with the grammatical codes and at par with the language of the *śishṭa* (urbanised, in essence, an adept in the use of chaste Sanskrit) of the day.

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The language used by Aśoka Maurya (272–236 B.C.) in his inscriptions provides us with a window on the language of the masses in the first millennium before Christ. According to the phonetic variations, four groups are indicated :

1. The region to the west of the Sutlej, falling within the Viceroyalty of Takshaśilā, and represented by the Rock Edicts, at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra. Besides the Indian language written in the Kharoshṭhi script, the Greek and Aramaic languages written in their respective scripts were also in use, mostly beyond the Khyber and Bolan passes.
2. The region to the east and south of the Sutlej, covering the entire Gangetic basin, with centre at Pāṭaliputra, and represented by the Rock Edicts at Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugad, Pillar Edicts in Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and the Minor Rock and Pillar Edicts in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar—all written in Prakrit but in the Brāhmī script.
3. The region controlled by the Viceroyalty of Ujjayinī, and represented by the Rock Edicts at Girnar and Sopara, written in Prakrit in the Brāhmī script.
4. The region controlled by the Viceroyalty at Suvarṇagiri, and represented by the Edicts in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka Pradesh, written in Prakrit in the Brāhmī script.

The same form of language and script continued for about 500 years after Aśoka when it was supplanted by panegyrics and eulogies in classical Sanskrit of the *kāvya* style. The earliest of the inscriptions in Sanskrit is the Sudarśana Lake Inscription of Rudradāman dated in A.D. 150 and the most important of the lucid panegyrics (*praśasti*) is that of Harisheṇa composed for Samudragupta and inscribed on the Aśokan pillar at Allahabad in *c.* A.D. 360. Incidentally, both the above records are preserved on the same sites which contain Aśoka's records. Earlier to Rudradāman's record, there are only three places in Sanskrit : one is a small inscription of one Dhana claiming to be sixth in descent from Pushyamitra who had performed two Horse-sacrifices, and is from Ayodhya; the other two are known as the Ghoshundi and Hathiwara grants and their provenance is near Jaipur, they cannot be pushed beyond the beginning of the Christian era. It is curious to note that despite the projected zeal of the Śuṅgas for the revival of Brahmanical ritualism and reinstatement of Sanskrit scholarship, all the Śuṅga records known so far are in Prakrit, and a Greek, Heliodorus by name, who consecrated a *Garuḍadhvaja* to propitiate Vishṇu in the kingdom of Śuṅga Bhāgbhadra at Vidiśā, possibly the capital, also made his record in Prakrit in the Brāhmī script. The best narrative record from the historical point of view is that of Khāravela who got it recorded in *c.* 172 B.C. on the Hāthigumphā on the Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in Orissa, in Prakrit in the Brāhmī script, continuing the tradition of the Mauryan administration. This tradition was also continued by the Sātavāhanas in the Narmada-Godavari valley, whence they

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carried it down to Kāñchī where they created the *Thoṇḍimaṇḍalam* and founded the Pallava kingdom with Prakrit as the court language.[4] The dynasty of Khāravela as well as that of the Sātavāhanas or *Āndhra-bhṛityas*, were founded by the servants, possibly of the Mahāmātra rank, of the Maurya Empire.

Just as inscriptions in Sanskrit were rare before A.D. 150 so were inscriptions in Prakrit rare after the Gupta period, say A.D 500 onwards. A notable example is provided by the record of Kakkuka, found near Ghatayala in Jodhpur District, dated in Saṁvat 918 (A.D. 861). It is in *kāvya* style, composed in chaste Jain Mahārāshṭrī, and contains 23 verses, recording the founding of a Jain temple, establishing of a market and erecting of two pillars, and *inter alia* mentions the curious fact that he had descended from a Brahmin father and a Kshatriya mother.[5]

The Jains and the Buddhists maintain that Mahāvīr and the Buddha had preached in the people's language. Among the Jains, the Śvetāmbara Āgamas are in *Ardha-Māgadhī* and the Digambara early works in Jain *Śaurasenī*. The Theravāda Buddhist canon is in Pāli. The area of both Mahāvīra and the Buddha was the same, namely, eastern Uttar Pradesh and north and central Bihar. Therefore the language of the two teachers ought to be the same because they wandered among the same people. But then why this divergence is there, has been a baffling question.

A key to this riddle is provided by the language of the Aśokan edicts, especially his Calcutta-Bairat inscription where he quotes certain passages from the scripture. It postulates that there must have been some collection from which he drew upon and it was possibly in the *Māgadhī* as spoken in that region (Region No. 2 above). The discovery of Aśvaghosha's plays in Khotan further indicated that they were in a Prakrit not akin to Pāli,[6] and hence it would not be pertinent to suppose that the Buddha spoke Pāli. Woolner notes, "*Pāli* originally meaning a 'boundary, limit, or line' was applied to the *canon* of the Hīnayāna Buddhists. Thence it is used of the *language* of that *canon*, found also in some canonical books : all being preserved in what were originally the missionary churches of Ceylon, Burma and Siam."[7] He also notes that Pāli is not *Māgadhī*. It has been supposed that it might be the language of Ujjain whence Mahendra took the sacred Canon to Ceylon, or it might be the language of the Kaliṅga country because of certain resemblances with the language of Khāravela's record, or it might be from some place near the Vindhyas because of some points of resemblance with *Paiśāchī*, or it might be an old form of *Śaurasenī*. Woolner concludes, "Whatever may be the exact truth of the matter, it is clear that Pāli contains several different strands in its composition and that it varies also according to its age. The oldest type is seen in the Gāthās, then come the prose portions of the Canon followed by non-canonical literature and finally still later layers. The development of Pāli has been influenced by Sanskrit."[8]

Similarly as the Brahmins detested the *Vrātyas* who did not owe allegiance to the Vedic fire-cult and the Brahmanic social and religious organisation and called the *Prāchyas* or Easterners as being *āsuriya* or demoniac, *i.e.* barbarian and hostile in nature,[9] so the *Prāchya Vrātya* thinkers boycotted Sanskrit and discarded the Brahmanic

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concpet of social discrimination. The Buddha accordingly bade his followers to learn his teachings in their own language,[10] and thus the ground was prepared where the original teachings could be redacted in different dialects.

The Theravāda Canon was reduced to writing in the 1st century B.C. Winternitz aptly notes that 'the monks of Ceylon were bent on preserving and passing on the texts written in the language once established for them in India. In all probability these monks were just as conscientious regarding the contents as regarding the language, and preserved and handed down to us the texts of the *Tipiṭaka* which was written down in the Pāli language, with rare fidelity during the last two thousand years."[11]

The redaction of the Jain Canon followed a more devious route. There is a consistent tradition that there was a twelve-year famine in Magadha about 150 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra when a portion of the *Saṁgha* migrated to South India under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu I, the last of the *Śruta-kevalins*. After the famine a Council was convened by the members of the *Saṁgha* who had stayed behind in the North, for the restoration of the sacred canon, as so many monks who were the repositories of the sacred lore, had been dead. The representatives from the South did not join it, nor they accepted the Canon so compiled by the ascetics of the North who had become slack in ascetic practices to some extent due to the exigencies of famine. Thus followed the Schism as the *Digambaras* and the *Śvētāmbaras*. The *Śvētāmbaras* finally redacted the Canon as preserved with them at the Pāṭaliputra *Saṁgha* under Devardhigaṇi at Vallabhī in M.E. 983 (A.D. 456).[12] In course of time, as it passed through word of mouth it was affected by the regional dialects to some extent, but in essence retained an archaic character in language. This was termed as *Ardha-Māgadhī*. It appears to be the *Māgadhī* which was largely influenced by *Śaurasenī*. The *Saṁgha* that travelled to South India, redacted their pro-canonical literature in the Prakrit that they had brought with them. A.N. Upadhye calls it Jain *Śaurasenī*.[13] He has traced common verses in the South Indian *Digambara* pro-canonical litrature and the *Śvētāmbara Ardha-Māgadhī Āgama* literature, and has concluded that it proves their common heritage.[14] The redaction of the *Digambara* literature started with Kundakunda who succeeded to pontificate in 8 B.C. He wrote in Parkrit (Jain *Śaurasenī*) 84 *Pāhuḍas* and he is also credited with the composition of the *Thirukuraḷ* in Tamil.[15] The *Svētāmbara* took to writing some 450 years after Kundakunda. Their centre had shifted from Magadha to Ujjayinī, and later on to Vallabhī, which factor contributed to their taking to *Mahārāshṭrī* Prakrit for their pro-canonical literature. Distinct from the literary Prakrit used in Sanskrit dramas, the *Mahārāshṭrī* Prakrit was the *lingua franca* of the region and was used as vehicle for their compositions by the *Svētāmbara* Jains particularly, so it came to be identified as the Jain *Mahārāshṭrī*. The material point to be noted here is that as the Pāli survived in a form in which it reached Sri Lanka, so the *Ardha-Māgadhī*, Jain *Śaurasenī* and Jain *Mahārāshṭrī* survived in a form in which they were once adopted by the two sects of the Jains, and this survival was possible for two reasons—one was the seclusion and removal from the centre of their origin, and the other was the

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sanctity imposed on the scripture as *Ārsha*, hence not subject to interference *prima facie*.

It is inferred from Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela of Kaliṅga that a Council of monks for the recitation of the Canon was convened 355 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, i.e., in 172 B.C. There is no mention of this Council either in the *Śvētāmbara* or in the *Digambara* literature. There is a possibility that an attempt was then made to reconcile the Schism, or it might have been simply a congregation of the *Digambara munis*, but nothing definite can be said.

The foregoing discussion postulates a review of our approach to the study of Prakrit languages and to tracing the linguistic developments in India in an objective manner, taking Prakrit as *prākṛita* and Sanskrit as *saṁskṛita* mode of expression and basing it on the Indian scene first of all.

Notes and References

1. Vide Namisādhu's commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, 2.12.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ārisa-vayaṇe siddhaṁ devāṇaṁ Addhamāgahā vāṇī*.
4. Ref. A. Chakravartinayanar's Historical Introduction to *Pāncāstikāyasāra*, pp. ix-xii.
5. *J.R.A.S.*, 1855, Vol. 27, p. 513; Woolner, A.C. : *Introduction to Prakrit*, pp. 146-51.
6. Woolner, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Lüders : *Bruchstucke Buddhistischer Dramen.*
7. Woolner, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.
9. Chatterji, S.K. : *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, pp. 60-61.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 64. When two Brahmin disciples of the Buddha suggested that his teachings should be translated into the learned man's tongue (Sanskrit) from the very debased vernacular of the East (*Prāchya dialect*), he refused to accept the suggestion and, instead, recommended that men should study his word "each in his own language" (*sakāya niruttiyā*). (Vide *Chulla-Vagga* V, 33; *cf. Majjhima-Nikāya* 139). Also refer Winternitz, W. : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 601-05.
11. Winternitz : *op. cit.*, p. 14.
12. A.N. Upadhye's Introduction to *Pravachanasāra*, p. 177; Winternitz : *op. cit.*, pp. 431-35.
13. Upadhye, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-17.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-15, 23.
15. Jain, J.P. : *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, pp. 120-26.

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12

PĀŚUPATA–ŚAIVISM IN HARYANA

DR. SHEO BAHADUR SINGH*

Śiva is known as Bhūtapati and Paśupati in the Vedic literature.[1] Sometimes, he is described as the killer of animals, yet he is also regarded as Paśupati, the lord of animals.[2] The earliest figure resembling the deity occurs on a seal from Mohenjodaro which shows a three-faced male deity with horns, seated on a stool, with his heels pressed closely together. He is surrounded by a tiger, an elephant, a rhinoceros, a buffalo and two deer and has been recognised by Marshall as the prototype of later Paśupati Śiva.[3] However, at this stage, the question of Pāśupata sect does not arise at all. But the introduction of these early references might had been helpful in emerging the later Pāśupata sect.

Patañjali mentions *Śiva-Bhāgavatas* carrying an iron lance, in *circa* 2nd century B.C.[4] This is one of the earliest references to a Śaiva sect, and probably had some association with the Pāśupatas referred to in the literature and inscriptions.[5] The *Mahābhārata* (*Nārāyaṇīya* section) enumerates five systems of religious practices, such as, *Sāṁkhya*, *Yoga*, *Pāñcharātra*, *Veda* and *Pāśupata*. It describes Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha as the teacher of Pāśupata who was the lord of Umā and the son of Brahmadeva.[6] This shows that the founder of Pāśupata sect was a human being, who was later deified as the incarnation of Śiva. The *Trantraloka* also describes Śrīkaṇṭha as the unique teacher on the earth.[7] Aghoraśiva, the Śaiva ascetic of the south, while commenting upon the *Ratnatraya*, mentions Śrīkaṇṭha as the *Guru* to be saluted in the beginning.[8]

However, the Pauranic[9] and epigraphic evidences refer to a person named *Lakulīśa*, an inhabitant of ancient Kāyāvarohaṇa (modern Karvan in the Kathiawaḍ) responsible for the development of the Pāśupata cult. It is rather interesting that Śrīkaṇṭha regarded as a god in Śaiva sect, has been identified with five-faced Sadāśiva and the guardian protector of *Siddhis* as well.[10] The Cintrā Praśasti refers to a temple of the *Pañchamukhī* Śrīkaṇṭha.[11] R.G. Bhandarkar doubts the historicity of Śrīkaṇṭha. He rather, regards *Lakulīśa* as the founder of the Pāśupata sect.[12]

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V.S. Pathak,[13] on the other hand, feels strongly in favour of Śrīkaṇṭha as a historical person, for the *Tantraloka* regards Śrīkaṇṭha and *Lakulīśa* as the only two authorities on *Śivasāsana*.[14] Moreover, it also regards *Lakulīśa*, along with other Śiva incarnations, as the expounder of the glories of Śrīkaṇṭha.[15] The suggestion seems to be more true that the Pāśupata school was founded by Śrīkaṇṭha from which several later branches sprung up including *Lakulīśa-Pāśupata*, after *Lakulīśa*. Thus *Lakulīṣa* was, probably, the systematiser and not the real founder of the Pāśupata cult.[16] Bagchi suggested that *Lakulīśa* was, probably, the disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha, and these two were responsible for the foundation of the Pāśupata school.[17] But V.S. Pathak holds the view that *Lakulīśa* was not an immediate disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha as literature and inscriptions do not quote them as teacher and disciple,[18] rather a tradition, quoted by Abhinavagupta in the *Āgama*, records that *Lākula* received the doctrine from Swachchhanda.[19]

R.G. Bhandarkar had identified the *Śiva-Bhāgavatas* of Patañjali with the Pāśupatas and placed *Lakulīśa* in *circa* 2nd century B.C.[20] On the other hand D.R. Bhandarkar, on the basis of Mathura pillar Inscription[20a] of the time of Chandragupta II, suggested that *Lakulīśa* belonged to the first quarter of 2nd century A.D. But Pathak[21] is inclined on a date for *Lakulīśa* in *circa* 2nd century B.C. as proposed by R.G. Bhandarkar. The *Cintrā Praśasti*[22] of Sārñgadeva refers to the four disciples of *Lakulīśa-Kuśika*, Gārgya, Kaurushya and Maitreya from whom four branches (of *Lakulīṣa* sect) sprung forth. *Lakulīśa* composed a work known as *Pañchārthavidyā*[23] from which a passage is quoted by Mādhavāchārya in his *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*. It states that a Pāśupata should bathe thrice a day, should lie upon ashes and oblation is an observance divided into six members.[24]

It may be noted that the cult of the Pāśupata-Lakulīśa was quite popular in the various parts of India from Gujarat to Bengal and from Kashmir to Karnatak and beyond. Numerous inscriptions corroborate this fact gleaned in the Pauranic and Agamic literatures. The copper plate inscription of Nāgavardhana, the nephew of Pulkeśin II, records a grant of village near Igatpuri in the Nasik district for the worship of the god *Kapāleśvara* and for the maintenance of the *Mahāvratins* residing in the temple.[25] In one dated inscription (A.D. 943) of Karnatak, *Lakulīśa* being afraid that his name and doctrines would be forgotten, became an incarnate as *Muninātha Chilluka*.[26] Another inscription (A.D. 1078) records about an ascetic as the ornament to the *Lākula* school, while to other as a hand to *Lākula*.[27] In another inscription (A.D. 1103), it is said that Someśvara Sūrī has caused to bloom the *Lākula* doctrine.[28] In another dated inscription (A.D. 1177), some ascetics are called upholders of the *Lākulāgamasamaya*, i.e. the system based upon a work of *Lākulin* and adherents of *Kālāmukhas*.[29] Here Kālāmukhas are referred to as Lākulas, identical to Pāśupatas. Another inscription records a grant to Nāgaśiva *Paṇḍita* who is regarded as the beholder of the *Lākula* system.[30] Another dated inscription (A.D. 1199) notices a grant of land to Bammadeva, son of Nāgarāśi, the promoter of system based upon the work of *Lākulin*.[31] The Nirmand copper plate inscription of

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the time of Maukhari chief Sarvavarman mentions the installation of images of *Kapāleśvara*.[32] The Bihari inscription describes Yuvarāja II dedicating his whole empire to his Śaiva preceptor engaged in the worship of Śrīkaṇṭha.[33]

The *Atharvasiras Upanishad*[34] refers to *Pāśupata vrata*, consisting of besmearing body with ashes and muttering *mantras* as a principal characteristic of the Pāśupata school. Varāhamihira also refers to the Pāśupatas as *sabhasma Dvija*. The *Pāśupata Sūtra*, and the commentary on it by Kauṇḍinya, also mentions this vow about ashes and also other practices of the Pāśupata ritualists, some of which are outlandish in character. It appears that the *Kāpālikas*, the *Kālāmukhas* and similar other *ghora* Śaiva sects developed from the Pāśupata cult. Bhavabhūti, in Mālatīmādhava[35], also records the various practices of *Kāpālikas* known as *Mahāvratadhara*.

The Pāśupata sect was quite popular in Haryana in the ancient period. Hiuen Tsang, in the 7th century A.D., refers to Pāśupatas, twelve times, in his book. He says that there were temples of Maheśvara where Pāśupatas worshipped, and in a few of them they also resided. These Pāśupatas besmeared their bodies with ashes.[36] Thanesar, itself, was a great centre of Śiva-worship as its name denotes '*Sthāṇu-Īśvara*' i.e. Śiva-Mahādeva (the god of the place). It is, rather, noteworthy that the ancient name of the region was Śrīkaṇṭha Janapada. Does this imply its association with Śrīkaṇṭha, the founder of the Pāśupata cult, is difficult to say. But, however, Bāṇa, in the *Harshacharita*, refers to Pushpabhūti as *Param Māheśvara* who was the founder of the *Vardhana* dynasty. It appears that Śiva worship was very much popular in the Thanesar region in *circa* 7th century A.D.[37] as Bāṇa gives a graphic description of the popularity of the Pāśupata sect, and its various rites performed in the worship of the deity.[38] He also refers to the *Vaitāla-sādhanā*, performed by Pushpabhūti with the assistance of a southern saint *Bhairavāchārya* and his associates. The saint seated on a tiger-skin, encircled by ashy-lining, and bearing *bhasmatilaka* on the forehead, appears to be a *Kāpālika* ascetic. Moreover, Bāṇa also refers to various rites, such as *asuravivara praveśa* (to get down within a cave), *māñsa-vikraya* (selling of the meat), to burn *guggula* on the head, *mahāmaṇḍalapūjā* and wearing *sphaṭika kuṇḍala* in ears, mostly connected with *Kāpālika* ascetics.[39] This shows that the *Kāpālika* form of Pāśupata sect was more popular in this region at one time. These *Kāpālikas* call themselves as *Mahāvratī*. In *Kādambarī* also, Bāṇa represents Pāśupatas with red clothing, to have been among those, who waited to see Tārāpīḍa's minister Śukanāsa at the door of his house, for some private purposes of their own; but in another place, he represents Vilāsavatī, the queen of Tārāpīḍa, to have gone to the temple of *Mahākāla* on the fourteenth (of dark half of the month) to worship the god.[40]

Another great centre of Pāśupata sect was the monastery of *Mattamayūra*, near Rohtak. The *Mahābhārata* locates the *Mattamayūras* in the *Pañchanada* region (near Rohtak).[41] Inscriptions[42], further indicate that the town of *Mattamayūra* was in the kingdom of Avantivarmana who must had been in the beginning of 9th century A.D. This Avantivarmmana might have belonged to the Varmman line of kings in Punjab

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from 7th to 9th century A.D. However, Mirashi has identified *Mattamayūra* town with Kadawahā in the Malwa region.[43] The identification is not plausible to scholars on various grounds.[44]

Another great centre of the Pāśupata sect in Haryana was the town of Sirsā as is evident from the inscription[45] of the time of Bhojadeva, the *Pratihāra* ruler. It refers to an ascetic Ratnarāśi[46] who was the champion of the Pāśupata sect. Inscriptional evidences indicate that the *Kālānana* ascetics, who were perhaps, the disciple of *Kaurusha* lineage, or the ascetic of Gārgya school, have *rāśi* ending names[47], as such Ratnarāśi might had been of ā *Kālānana* or *Gārgya* school. The Sirsā Stone Inscription prays the saint who is devoid of lust, pure like *Gaṅgā*, and resplendent like Śiva himself. This further informs that the Pāśupata sect flourished in this region, atleast for five generations, from the ascetic Ratnarāśi onwards during the 8th, 9th century A.D. Nilakaṇṭha[48] was the disciple of the fifth generation. He caused to build a magnificient temple of *Yogīśvara*, i.e. Śiva in burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone. The lofty shrine with fine architecture was embellished with the images of *Vishṇu*, *Lakshmī* other gods, *daityas*, *gandharvas*, *yakshas*, *gaṇas*, *kinnaras* and *Siddhas* etc.

Moreover, it is also noteworthy that Harshavardhana had issued coins with the figures of Umā and Śiva.[49] This also shows the popularity of the sect in this very region.

Thus, it appears from the various literary, numismatic and epigraphical sources that Pāśupata-Śaivism was very much popular in the Haryana region—from Rohtak on the south-east to Sirsā on the north-west, along with the central seat at Thanesar right from the early times. However, it would not be out of place to mention that even today no god can vie in popularity with the lord Śiva in this region, and he is still worshipped with great enthusiasm and fervour in his various forms.

Notes and References

1. *AV.*, II, 2, 1.
2. *Śatapatha*, V, 3, 3, 7.
3. *MIC*, I, pp. 52-6, Pl. XII, 17.
4. *Mahābhāshya*, V, 2, 36.
5. *DHI*, p. 450.
6. *Śāntiparva*, *Adh.* 349, 50; 64-7.
7. I, p. 28.
8. *Ratnatrayaṁ*, p. 1.
9. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Adh. 23; *Liṅga Purāṇa*, Adh. 24.
10. *Tantra*, V, p. 30.
11. *EI*, I, p. 284.
12. *VSMRS*, p. 116.
13. *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, p. 7.
14. *Tantra*, XII, p. 396.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
16. *Proceedings of the Jaipur Session of the Indian History*, Congress, pp. 32 ff.

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17. *HBD*, p. 405.
18. *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, p. 8.
19. *Tantra*, p. 383.
20. *VSMRS*, p. 117.
20a. *EI*, XXI, 5-7.
21. *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, p. 9.
22. *EI*, I, p. 281, 16-17.
23. *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā*, 2, 24, 169; *cf.* An inscription in the Harshantha temple near Sikar (Jaipur district) of Saṁvat 1013 (A.D. 957) refers to an ascetic Viśvarūpa who was the *āchārya* of *Pañcharthalākulāmnāya*, evidently referring to the *Pañchārtha* work, *EI*, II, p. 122.
24. *DHI*, p. 451.
25. *JBBRAS*, XIV, p. 26.
26. *Epi. Car.* XII, p. 92.
27. *Epi. Car.* Sikarpur Taluq No. 107.
28. *Epi. Car.* VII, pt. I, p. 64.
29. *Epi. Car.*, V, pt. I, p. 135.
30. *Epi. Car*, V, Arsikere Taluq No. 89.
31. *Epi. Car.*, V, Arsikere Taluq No. 103.
32. *CII*, III, pp. 286-91.
33. *EI*, I, p. 261.
34. *VSMRS*, pp. 111-12.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
37. *Grihe Grihe Bhagavānapujyataḥ Khaṇḍaparaśu, Harshacharita*, III, 100.
38. *Harshacharita* III, 100, 103, 153.
39. V.S. Agrawala, *Harshacharita Eka Adhyayana*, pp. 56-59.
40. *VSMRS*, p. 118.
41. *Sabhāparva*, XXXII.
42. *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, pp. 33-34.
43. *IHQ*, 1950, p. 9.
44. *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, p. 33.
45. *EI*, XXI, pt. VIII, p. 295.
46. *Ratnarāśista (po) maya—pāśupatāgraṇīscha.*
47. *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, p. 19.
48. *Śri Nīlakaṇṭhastathā. Iśāna...Pṛithvibhujāṁ samabhavad-vāgīśvaro Vādināmityekopi chakāra rupamanišaṁ Śambhoranekam ni (jam)... Śāntayai Yogīśvarasya bhavanaṁ mahato mahīyah. EI*, XXI, pt. VIII, p. 295.
49. P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 65.

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13

MĀṄGULAM CAVE BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS

J. SUNDARAM*

The inscriptions dealt with below are reported in the Annual Report of Epigraphy, 1907 (para 3)[1] as having been found in the caverns at Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi. The Nāgamalai hills containing these caverns are also stated to be partly belonging to Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi and partly to Māṅguḷam. On local enquiry it is learnt that the hill containing the caverns is called Ūvāmalai which however belongs to the Nāgamalai chain and that the hill is part of Māṅguḷam about one and a half miles distant from the hill.[2] Māṅguḷam is about 12 miles to the north-east of Madurai. The hill stretches from north to south and the caverns are on the eastern side of the hill which can be reached after negotiating about a mile on the hill after touching the hill from Māṅguḷam side. There are actually four caves containing the Brāhmī inscriptions for two of which the locals have special names. The first cave as one reaches from the side of Māṅguḷam is called the 'kitchen' and the second one is known as '*paḷḷi-kkūḍam*'. The third cave is just adjacent to the second and the fourth is in a secluded spot lower down the hill. The locals do not have any special designations for the third and fourth caves. All the Brāhmī inscriptions are found on the brow of the caves. The bed-like cuttings on the cave-floor are found only in the first cave but there are no inscriptions on the floor. In the first cave, on the brow of the cave, there are two single line inscriptions, one short and the other long with some space in between. There are two inscriptions in the second cave, which are comparatively short-single lines. The third cave[3] also contains a single line inscription which is long and damaged. The cave lower down also contains a long single line inscription.

The language of the records is Tamil as made known by the verbs *Che-iya* (*Cheyda*—what was done) and *koṭupitōn* (caused to be cut or *kuḍupittān*—caused it to be given) used in inscriptions Nos. 1, 4-6, though the laguage used appears to be corrupt. The characters used for the writing are Brāhmī. But the stock of the alphabet is somewhat different from that used for writing Sanskrit, Prākrit or Pāli. All the aspirates of the consonants[4] the soft middle sounds *ga*, *ja*, *ḍa*, *da* and *ba*, and the letters *śa*, *sha* and

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ha have not been used. However, four other letters are found in these records which are not evidenced in the Brāhmī alphabet used for writing Sanskrit or Pāli. The concerned letters, *na*, *ṟ*, *la* and *ḻa* which are required for writing the Tamil language have been fashioned from the symbols in Brāhmī representing nearest the sound in Tamil —*na* has been formed from na by the addition of a curvature to the top of the letter; *ra* has been formed from the original spiral like form of ra in Brāhmī[5] (*veḻ-arai* in inscription Nos. 2 and 3); *ḻa* has been formed from *la* by the addition of a curved stroke to the proper left limb of the letter (*veḻ-arai* in inscriptions Nos. 2 and 5 and Iḷañ-chatikan in No. 6); *ḻa* has been formed by the encircling of the vertical top of *ḍa*;[6] *Na* is invariably used as the final consonant at the end of the words instead of *na*.[7] The form of some of the letters points to their period which must have been far later than that of the Aśōka inscriptions. *Ya* excepting in two words *neṭiñchaḻiyan* and *tantaiy* in inscription No. 6, has a form where, the two lines taking off from a central vertical line and going upwards are almost found reaching to level with the central stem. In *la* the curvature to the proper right is found extended upwards to reach level with the proper left vertical line. *Ra* is represented by a vertical straight line instead of a spirally line found in the Aśokan inscriptions. It also appears that as in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu casket inscriptions, the symbols for the consonants used in these records are of the basic consonants and the addition of each vowel sound to the consonant from *a* onwards has been achieved by the addition of symbols to the consonant. For instance *nāntā* is found engraved *nanta*. But unlike the Bhaṭṭiprolu writing there is no evidence of an additional stroke having been added to the symbols to express long *ā*. This lengthening of *a* seems to have been achieved by the writing of a separate symbol for a as in *īṭṭa-a* in No. 4 or *koṭṭupitta-a* in No. 4.[8] Looking at these characteristics one can conclude that the earliest date that can be assigned to these inscriptions is 2nd century B.C.

An orthographical characteristic can also be pointed out. Wherever a word ended with the vowel sound *i* or *ai* a *y* is found added at the end of the words e.g. *kaṇi-y*, *paḷi-y*, *siri-y*, *koṭi-y*, *arai-y*.

The object of the records seems to have been to announce the dedication of the caves as memorials. Except Nos. 2 and 3 which seem to be just labels of names the others say that something was done (*chei-y*) or was caused to be cut or given (*koṭupiṭon* or *koṭṭupitta-a*). Nos. 4, 5, 6 start the record with the word *kaṇi*, then give the name of the *kaṇi*, then the name and description of the donor and finally indicate as to what was done, *paḷi* in Nos. 4 and 6 and *piṇa-u* in No. 5. The word *kaṇi* seems to have signified a religious teacher and seems to be the Tamilised form of *gaṇī* of Sanskrit. The Jain religious hierarchy is otherwise known to have belonged to different *gaṇas*[9] and hence it can be surmised that the reference was to a Jain pontiff.[10] The name of the *kaṇi* is given in No. 4 as *Nanta-asiriy-ī-Kuvaan* in No. 5 as *[Nan]ta-siriy-kan* and in No. 6 as *Nanta siriy-ku-an*. If as discussed below the inscriptions recorded the dedication of memorials of Jain teachers, deceased, the kaṇi in each one of the records must have been different from the other. The middle portion of

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the name between *Nanta* and *ku-an* may be a corrupt rendering of *āchārya* which is usually rendered in Tamil as *āśiriyan* but in later days it is written as *āchiriyan* and not as āsiriyan. If as read above, the word was only *siri* it might have denoted the honorific *śrī*. *Ku-an* was probably the actual name[11] which might have been adopted by successive pontiffs of the local order.[12] Inscription No. 5 seems to give further the credentials of the *kaṇi*. The expression *vēl-arai-y nikima-to* seems to indicate that he belonged to the nigama or learned body of *vēl-arai*. It is noteworthy that at *Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi* at the head of the bed like formations on the floor of the cavern, there are two labels which read *kuvir antai vey Atan* and kuvir antai vēḷ Ataṇ.[13] As the labels seem to refer to the religious teachers to whose memory the beds were dedicated, *kuvir antai-vey* and *kuvir antai vēḷ* could have described the qualifications of the Atan to whom the memorial was made. One of the Aḷagarmalai cave inscriptions constituting a label, reads *veṇ kuḷar arūrai-vāṇikan eḷa-a Atan* and seems to indicate that there was a dedication for Atan, the junior (*eḷa*) who was of the *veṇkuḷar*.[14] Probably before becoming a monk he was a merchant of Arūrai. The cave inscription at Marugāltalai (Tirunelveli District) refers to one Veṇ-kōsipan as the one who gave a *kal-kañchaṇam*.[15] An inscription of the year 21 (1006) of Rajaraja I from Tirumalai (Polur taluk, North Arcot District)[16] refers to a *kaṇi* named Chekkara-maru-porchūriyaṇ[17] who was a *veṇ-kilān;* probably meaning 'the head of *veṇ*, *veṇ* indicating an establishment or an order'.[18] In consideration of all these references, it seems likely that *veḷ-arai-nikamator* mentioned in these inscriptions meant that the *kaṇi* in whose memory the dedication was made belonged to the order (*nigama*) of *veḷ arai*.[19] Uptil this, the records seem to describe the person in whose memory the dedication was made. Following this the three above mentioned records refer to the person who made the dedication. In inscription No. 4 the donor was Neṭuñ-chaḷiyaṇ Paṇa-aṇ Kaṭala-n Vaḷutti-y who had probably given (*īṭta*) *emmay*.[20] In inscription No. 5 this portion of the inscription is much obliterated by weather and nothing definite can be read. He was probably a *kaviti*,[21] a village officer evidenced in later inscriptions. In inscription No. 6 the dedication is stated to have been done by Chaṭikaṇ, the father of junior Chaṭikaṇ, the *salakan*[22] of Neṭiñ-chaḷḷiyaṇ[23] who had given *emma*. Then the records tell about the act carried out. Inscription No. 4 says that the *paḷḷ-ī-y* was caused to be cut (*Koṭṭupiṭṭa-a*). Inscription No. 5 says that the donor was the one who had caused the *piṇa-u*[24] to be cut (*koṭipiton*).[25] According to No. 6 the donor did (*che-ī-y*) the *Paḷḷi-y*. The *paḷi-y* in Nos. 4 and 6 seems to have meant either the bed or memorial or place of worship or place of instruction. *Paḷiy* might have been derived from the Sanskrit word *pāli* which among other things also means "a mark or spot".[26] But considering that paḷḷi, in Tamil which seems to have been derived from *paḷi*, which has the special meanings as stated above and the circumstances of the reference, the word *paḷi* in these instances also seems to have denoted a definite structure of a special character. One of the meanings of *paḷḷi* in Tamil is bed as is evident from the words paḷḷi-arai (meaning bed room) and Paḷḷi-koṇḍa-Perumāḷ (the God in the posture of lying down).[27] The significance of this meaning will strike one when he sees that these caves contain bed-like carvings.

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Hence it is likely that *paḷi* referred to the cutting of the beds done to commemorate the act done by the religious teacher mentioned at the outset of the inscriptions.[28] This significance of *paḷiy* or bed as a commemorative dedication seems to have given rise to the attribution of the word to any memorial. A ninth century inscription from Chōḷavaram (North Arcot District)[29] refers to the erection of a temple as paḷḷipaḍai (dedication of a *paḷḷi*) or *atīytagaram* by a Rājādittan Mahādēvan for his father Prithvīgaṅgaraiyar. It was clearly a memorial. The original *paḷi* or the cave containing the *paḷi* also seems to have become a place for the congregation of the worshippers of the faith to which the religious teacher commemorated belonged as in the due course *paḷi* or *paḷḷi* came to signify the place of worship of the Jains and generally of the non-Hindus.[30] It has also been noticed that one of the caves in Māṅguḷam is known to local people as *paḷḷi-kkūḍam* which in modern parlance means a school of instruction. To get such an association in the people's minds it appears that this *paḷiy* which originally was meant as a memorial, was also used as a place of instruction and came to be recognised as such by the people.[31] It is noteworthy that in the cave at Archchalur in Coimbatore District, there are two charts showing the development of the consonants *ta* and *ka* in association with vowels engraved in characters of about 3–4th century.[32] Probably this was used as an aid for the instruction of the pupils. Attention to this seems to have been drawn by the other inscription from the same place in similar characters which says that Tēvan Chāttaṇ conjugated the letters (*eḷuttuppuṇarttān*).[33] Though there are no other indications of this cave having been used by Jains, the environment suggests that it was so. Hence it appears that *paḷiy*, though originally meant to signify a bed, in course of time came to be associated with a memorial, place of worship and school of instruction.

Texts

Inscription No. 1

Chantaritan koṭupiton

Inscription No. 2

Veḷ-arai-nikimator koṭi[*ḷa*]

Inscription No. 3

Kaṇiyantiriy koṭiy Achan

Inscription No. 4

Kaṇiy Nanta Asiriy-ī kuva-an Kē
emmam ītta-a Neṭuñchaliyan
paṇa-an kaṭal-sn
valuttiy koṭṭupitta-a paḷi-īy

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Inscription No. 5.

Kaṇi Nanta siriy kan veḷ-araiy
Nikimato kavitiīy ..... a .....
piṇa-u koṭipiton

Inscription No. 6

Kaṇiy Nanta siriy ku-an emmam ita
Neṭinchaḷiyaṇ Salakan iḷañ
Chaṭikan tantaiy chaṭikan cha-ī-ya
paḷiy

Notes and References

1. The inscriptions are listed as Nos. 460-65 of the collection of the year 1906.
2. There is a small hamlet called Mīnākshipuram at the foot of the hill.
3. *Cf.* Sastri, K.A.N.; *A History of South India* (Third Edition, 1966), p. 14. He says "The language employed in them seems to be the most ancient form of Tamil so far known to epigraphy". Zvelebil, Kamil thinks that it is hybrid Tamil (*Archiv Orientalni*, Vol. 32, pp. 550-51). The appearance of corruptness may be due to local dialectical peculiarities or due to the inadequacies of the drafters of the records.
4. In two of the long records a letter has been read as *dha* by Iravatam Mahadevan (*Seminar on Inscriptions*, 1966 ed. R. Nagaswamy, p. 60, Nos. 1 and 2, line 1). But the letter with similar form round in the Ānaimalai, Tirupparaṅgunram and Alagarmalai cave Brāhmī records has been read by him as *e*. Even supposing it was meant to be *dha* in the Māṅguḷam records, it is observable that the letter is inverted with the semi-circular part to the proper left of the vertical line rather than to the right as in other Brāhmī inscriptions.
5. *Cf.* Mahalingam, T.V., *Early South Indian Palaeography*, pp. 136-37.
6. Mahalingam T.V.; *op. cit.*, p. 136.
7. *Cf.* Iravatam Mahadevan : "Corpus of the Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions" *Seminar on Inscriptions*, 1966, pp. 60-65. Sometimes, he reads *tāna* meaning *dāna* in the Brāhmī inscriptions from other places, where the records end with *tān*.
8. Mahalingam, T.V.; *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21.
9. *Cf.* Paḷḷankōyil plates of Simhavarman (Tr. Arch. Soc. of S.I., 1958-59, p. 79, lines 18-19)— *Śrī Nandi-Sangh-ōdgha-gaṇē-gaṇēśai-guṇyair-agaṇyair-guṇibhiḥ prapurṇṇē gaṇi gān=iv=ājani vajra-Nandi.*
10. The type of land designated as *kaṇi-murṛuṭṭu* in the Tirumālpuram inscription of the year 14 (984) of Uttamachola (*SII.*, III, 142), the Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra I, year 6 (1018) (*ibid.*, 205), etc. seems to have referred to land donated to the Jain *gaṇī*. (Sastri, H. K., *SII.*, III, p. 389—for other interpretations of the word *gaṇī* see *EI*, XXII, p. 231; Tr. *Arch. Soc. of S.I.*, 1958-59, p. 87). This land granted to the *gaṇī* seems to have been intended for the monastery distinct from *palli-chchandam*, the land granted for the upkeep of Jain places of worship.
11. *Cf.* Mahalingam, T.V. : *op. cit.*, p. 208.
12. *Cf. EI.*, XXVII, p. 297. The name Chaturānanapaṇḍita was borne by successive heads of the *maṭha* at Tiruvorriyūr.

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13. Iravatam Mahadeva (*op. cit.*, p. 62) reads these two labels as *kuvira-antai-cey-a, tāṇa* and *kuvira-antai vēl-a tāṇa* and translates them as '(the) gift made (by) kuvira Anatai and (the) gift of Kuvira Antai, (a veḷ)' respectively. He does not explain why the names of the donors alone are given and not what was gifted or in whose favour the gift was made.
14. An inscription dated year 21(1006) of Rājarāja I from Tirumalai (North Arcot District) (*SII.*, I, 66) refers to the (Jain) teacher, Chekkara Maru-Porchūriyan as *kulir vaigai-kko*. The editor has translated the expression as 'the lord of the cool vaigai' (or Vaikāvūr) (*ibid.*, p. 95). It is possible that this *kulir* and the *veṇ-kular* of the Alagarmalai inscriptions were connected.
15. *Mahadevan* (*op. cit.*, p. 63) translates this as (the) rock-bed caused to be given (by) Kāsipan, (a) veḷ.
16. *SII.*, I, 66.
17. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 95. The name has been rendered as *Gaṇi-śēkhara-Maru-Porchūriyan.*
18. *Cf. Ibid.* This term has been rendered as 'pure master'. However the ven occurring in the sentence *alivu tirutti vi-veṇ-kuṇa-virai tirumalai vaittān* in a 13th century inscription from the same place (*SII.*, I, 75) has been translated as 'repaired the broken remains . . . . and placed them (on) this holy mountain (Tirumalai) of the God who possesses the eight qualities (*ibid.*, p. 107). The expression *tiruttiyiveṇ* has obviously been split up as *tirutti-yiv-eṇ*. Also Zvelabil, Kamil, *op. cit.*, p. 552. He takes veṇ as denoting a country.
19. *Cf.* Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 545. One of the meanings of *nigama* s given as 'doctrine'. Iravatam Mahadevan (*op. cit.*, pp. 60-61) understands this phrase to mean the merchant-guild of *velārai*. Also *cf.* Raman, K.V. : *Some Aspects of Pāṇḍyan History in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 59.
20. It is tempting to read this as *dhammam* as Iravatam Mahadevan has done (*Ibid.*, p. 60). But apart from the difficulty of reading the first letter as *dha* and the unlikelihood of the occurrence of this single aspirate among these Brahmī inscriptions of the Tamil country (the author of this present article came to read the second word in the Śittaṇṇavaśal Brhāmī inscription as Kumulūr as against the earlier reading as Kumuṭṭūr-ūr just after deciding that the aspirate *ṭha* could not have been employed among these inscriptions) it is doubtful if the word *dharmmam* during this period in the Tamil country denoted charity or dedication. Moreover, Mahadevan reads the relevant passage as *asiriy-ik=uy-an kē dhammam*. Also Mahalingam, T.V., *op. cit.*, p. 208.
21. *Cf. Kavuṭi* occurring in the Śittaṇṇavāśal inscription.
22. The meaning of this term is not clear. Iravatam Mahadevan (*op. cit.*, p. 60) reads this as *sālākān* and translates this as 'brother-in-law'. Also Raman, K.V., *op. cit.*, p. 4. But considering that the Tamil inscriptions do not express family relationships in Sanskrit this interpretation seems unwarranted.
23. The terms Naṭiñ-chaliyan and valuttiy are reminiscent of the name of some of the Pāṇḍya kings and their title. But as no kingly epithets are attributed to these names it is hazardous to conclude that these names were of Pāṇḍya kings (*cf.* Raman, K.V., *op. cit.*, p. 4).
24. Iravatam Mahadevan (*op. cit.*) translates this as 'lattice'. But there is no evidence of any lattice in the vicinity. *Piṇa-u* might have meant a partition or cleft and might have had reference to the separation of the two caves. It may be mentioned that there is only a short space separating the caves Nos. 2 and 3.
25. *Cf.* Zvelebil, Kamil, *op. cit.*, p. 555.
26. Monier Williams : *A Sanskrit-English* Dictionary, p. 623.
27. *Cf.* Mahalingam, T.V., *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51, n. 41-42.
28. *Cf. SII.*, XVII, p. i and No. 262. This inscription attributable to about the 5th century A.D. from Tirunatharkunru (South Arcot District) records that it was the *niśīdikai* (bed) of Chandira-Nandi-Āśirigar who observed the fast for 57 days. No bed-like carvings on the rock have however been reported.
29. *EI.*, VII, p. 193.

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30. Even today *palli* refers to a mosque, the place for congregatory worship of the Muslims, *palli-chchandam* seems to have been a variant of *palli* denoting a Jain establishment (*SII*, I, 67-68). The land granted for the upkeep of the Jain establishment was also known as *pallichchandam*. Also see Champakalakshmi, R. "Some Less Known Jaina Centres in the Tamil Country", Journal of the Madras University. See A—Humanities, Vol. 34, No. 1 (July, 1962), p. 21, 22 *et. al.*
31. *Cf.* Desai, P.B.: *Jainism in South India*, p. 79 and no. 1; Also *Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. A, Ghosh, p. 98. Though *palli* is obviously derived from *pali* and due to the different uses made of the place originally meant as a memorial by the cutting of symbolic beds, the term *pali* or *palli* came to be associated with the different purposes, by the ninth century, *pali* and *palli* seems to have denoted different structures in the structural complex sacred to the Jains. Also *ibid.*, p. 451; *A.R. Ep.*, 1968-69, B. 221. Also see Mahalingam, T.V., *op. cit.*, p. 151 n 42. However H. Sarkar refers to *pāli* as a term applied to a portion of a pillar complex (*Jaina Art and Architecture*, p. 221).
32. *A.R. Ep.*, 1961-62, B. 281, 282.
33. *Ibid.*, B. 280, pp. 10-11.

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14

KONIDENA INSCRIPTION OF ANNA-MANTRI

C. SOMASUNDARA RAO

This inscription hails from Koṇidena, the headquarters of a kingdom of the Telugu-Choḷas in 12th century A.D. The place was formerly lying in the Narasaraopeta taluk of the Guntur District, but now it is included in the Addanki taluk of the Prakasam District. The inscription under study was noticed by the Epigraphy Department as No. 175 of the year 1899. Later the text of the inscription was published under No. 620 in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI.

Though undated, this inscription belongs palaeographically to 12th century A.D. Inscriptions at the same place show that Nannichoḍa, the Telugu-Choḷa ruler, ruled from A.D. 1151 to 1160. It was his minister Anna-mantri who was the issuer of this inscription. The inscription was written in Sanskrit verse and prose.

The inscription contains useful information in two respects : (*1*) It gives a long genealogy of Anna-mantri tracing descent from persons who belong to 7th century; and (2) it records a number of donations made by Anna-mantri at a number of pilgrim centres lying both within the Andhra country as well as outside it.

(1) Anna-mantri belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*. The progenitor of the family was Rudrabhaṭṭa who enjoyed the *agrahāras* of Ahichchhatra and Vaṁggipuram. He is stated to have obtained the latter from Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍveṭṭi (either Trilochana Pallava himself or a ruler of the Pallava family). In that family was born Sūrya who obtained the village Māraṭūr in the Raṭṭa country from Satyāśrayavallabha (very likely Pulakeśin II). Sūrya's brother was Kuppanārya who received Krāñja from Vishṇuvardhana (founder of the Eastern Chālukya family?) Kuppanārya's son was Rudra; and the latter's son was Śrī Guṇḍameru who obtained from a king whose name was not given, but who was stated to be 'Karayilla-dāta', the village of Guṇḍimaḍa in Kaṇḍravāḍi as *ēkabhōga*. Guṇḍameru had two sons—Veṁdana and Guṇḍana. Guṇḍana had 4 sons—Dommena, Chāmena, Nuvvana and Bhīmana. Dommena married Gauramāṁbā by whom he had three sons—Ūttana, Guṇḍaṇa and Rāghava. Of these, Guṇḍana was the *mahāpradhāna* of Tribhuvanamalla. He

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married Kuppāmbikā and obtained a son by name Annan-āmātya. The latter served as a minister of Tribhuvanamalla's son Nannichoḍa.

This is the genealogy of the issuer of the inscription. This type of recording ancestry of ministers, officers or private people is rather rare, while it is common among the ruling families. More than this, the present inscription mentions kings known from history who made grants to the ancestors of Annamantri. The progenitor of the family Rudrabhaṭṭa received the *Vaṁggipura-agrahāra* from a Pallava ruler. Whether Trilochana Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi was historical or not, some Pallava ruler who had effective rule over the present Guntur District sometime before the advent of the Eastern Chāḷukyas might have granted the village. The village can be easily identified with Vangipuram lying in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District. Rudrabhaṭṭa is also stated to have enjoyed the *agrahāra* of Ahichchhatra. It is not known whether this meant his migration to Āndhra from North India or a place with that name existed at that time in Āndhra.

The inscription next mentions the name of Sūrya whose relationship with Rudrabhaṭṭa was not stated. Sūrya was the recipient of the village Māraṭūr in the Raṭṭa country from Satyāśraya-vallabha. This information is very interesting. One can identify this king with Pulakeśin II by two ways i.e. (*1*) because Sūrya's brother Kuppanārya received one village from Vishṇuvardhana, who also stands in the same relationship to Pulakeśin II, and (*2*) because of the discovery of the Māruṭūru grant of Pulakeśin II where the king grants the village Māruṭūra to a number of brahmins.[1] Curiously enough, this Sūrya belonging to the Kāsyapa-*gōtra* doesn't figure in the copper-plate grant. There are now two ways of dealing with this anomaly. We can state that this Māruṭūru of the copper-plate grant of Pulakeśin II is different from Māruṭūr granted to Sūrya because the latter is stated to be in Raṭṭa country. Then Māruṭūru of the copper-plate grant can be identified with its namesake in the Narasaraopeta taluk of the Guntur District, as has been done by the editor of the grant.[2] If, on the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the same king Pulakeśin II granted two villages with the same name, one in Raṭṭa area and another in coastal Āndhra, we have to identify this village with a place in Karnāṭaka. Even then, the omission of the name of Sūrya in the Māruṭūru grant is inexplicable. Anyway, the information from the Māruṭūru plates has to be reconsidered in the light of the contents of this record.

Sūrya's brother, Kuppanārya received Krāñja from Vishṇuvardhana, who was very likely the founder of the Eastern Chāḷukya family. Krāñja is no doubt the present Kaza in the Guntur taluk. Kuppanārya's grandson Śrī Guṇḍameru obtained Guṇḍimaḍa in Kaṇḍravāḍi as *ekabhoga*. Kaṇḍravāḍi can be roughly taken to have comprised parts of the present Guntur, Sattenapalli and Tenali taluks of the Guntur District.[3] Guṇḍimaḍa is Guṇḍimeḍa of the Guntur taluk. The king who granted this village was not named, but he was described as "Karayilla-dāta". Could this refer to gift of land exempted from taxes ? Or it might mean that he gave limitless lands as donation.

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Anna-mantri donated the village of Eddanapūṇḍi in Kamma-*kshiti* or *nāḍu* to a number of brahmins and made it an *agrahāra*. This village can be identified with the present Eddanapūḍi in the Addanki taluk of Prakasam District. Kamma-*nāḍu* corresponds to the present-day Bapatla and Narasaraopeta taluks of the Guntur District and Ongole taluk of Prakasam District.

From the details supplied by this inscription regarding the genealogy, it may be observed that brahmins who were holding important offices in the State in 12th century A.D. still cherished the memory of their ancestors who followed the Vedic ritual. This shows that the distinction between Niyogis (those who served the royal court) and Vaidikis (those who learnt and taught Vedas) as subcastes among the brahmins did not materialise.

(2) In addition to the genealogical information, the present inscription mentions a number of pilgrim-centres in Āndhra and outside in 12th century A.D. Though Vārāṇasi used to be mentioned in the imprecatory part of the inscriptions, actual references to the visit to Vārāṇasi by the Āndhras can be dated epigraphically to 13th century A.D. In a few inscriptions of 12th century A.D., mention was made of pañchārāmas *viz.* Ḍākaremi (Drākshārāma), Bhīmārāma (Chālukya Bhīmavaram near Samalkot), Pālakolanu (Pālakollu), Gunupūḍi (near Bhīmavaram) and Amarārāma (Amarāvatī). But a long list of places of religious importance is given in this inscription. They are mentioned here in the context of Anna-mantri's installation of *lingas* and Vishṇu forms at different places and also gift of lamp at various centres of pilgrimage. The latter includes, besides Drākshārāma and Amarāvatī, a number of Śaivite places like Śrīśailam, Tripurāntakam, Setu, Guṇḍimada, Vaishṇavite places like Triprayāga (Piṭhāpuram?) Jīharigiri (Siṁhāchalam), Preṁpalli (Bāpaṭla) and Cherakūr (Peda-Cherakūr) and of the deity Purushottama in Oḍḍa-deśa (Purī). Mention is also made of Somanātha in Saurāshtra. There are places like Tāṁbrapurī and Svāmimalai where Kumārasvāmi was worshipped. Goddess Māribhaṭṭārakī was worshipped at Maddirevula. At the capital city Koṭyadona (Koṇidena), there were temples for Śiva as well as Keśava. Most of these places like Śrīśailam, Tripurāntakam, Drākshārāma, Koṇidena, Tāṁbrapurī (Chebrolu in Guntur District) contain inscriptions which indicate that they were religious centres during this period. It is however difficult to know the identification of Maddirevula. Even if any identification is made, it is yet to be known whether the God or Goddess noted in this inscription is worshipped there. Svāmimalai is one of the centres of worship of Kumārasvāmi. The inscriptions from the temple, however, belong to the Vijayanagar period.[4] Could it be that this is the earliest reference to that temple ?

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Notes and References

1. N. Ramesan; *Copper-plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, Vol. I, pp. 38-39.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
3. K. Iswara Dutt; *Historical Geography of Andhra* (Telugu), (Hyderabad, 1963), pp. 50-53.
4. V. Rangacharya; *A Topographical list of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, Tj. 63 and 64. Mr. N. Sethuraman informs me that there is an inscription of Kulottuṅga III at this place. As this Chalukya-Choḷa ruler ascended the throne only in A.D. 1178, the reference to Svamimalai in the inscription under study would still be the earliest in point of time.

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15

MENAL INSCRIPTION OF BHĀVA SOMEŚVARA (VIKRAMA 1235)

(1 Plate)

RAM SHARMA*

The present inscription mentioning Sōmēśvara, a remarkable personality of mediaeval India, as we have stated elsewhere[1] also, was edited by Prof. Sadhu Ram[2] of Kurukshetra University, Haryana. According to his emendations and restorations he concluded that the first-half of the verse appears to be a question and the latter half its answer and the self-honoured person mentioned in the inscription was Pṛithvīrāja III whom the ascetic *Bhāva* Sōmēśvara might have helped in his battles against his enemies with the forces of his followers. Then he says that the title *Bhāva* applied to the *yōgin* shows that he was a *Pāśupata Śaiva* saint and that he was probably the chief of the *Pāśupata* monastery at Menal. Now, on a minute scrutiny of the contents of this inscription we find that it is very difficult to agree with most of the suggestions made by the learned professor. It appears to be strange to say that the self-honoured person mentioned in the inscription was Pṛithvīrāja III, while his name itself is not mentioned in the record. In view of all such difficulties it is re-edited here from the impressions kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore.[3]

The findspot of the inscription is Menal, Mandalgarh Tahsil, Chittorgarh District, Rajasthan. Its impressions were received in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore from the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, sometime in 1962 along with the impressions of some other inscriptions, out of which two have already been edited elsewhere.[4] The present one like the first of the two inscriptions mentioned above is also engraved on the pedestal of a stray image of a bearded *yōgin* which is also preserved in the sculpture-shed at the place of its find. The bearded *yōgin* has been named as Vasanta Mūrttī and for our information a saint *Bhāva* Vasanta Mūrtti has been known from another inscription[5] from the same place, but as will be seen below, there is nothing in the contents of this inscription on the possibility of its being an image of the saint in question. Rather they make it clear that the image is the representation of *Bhāva Sōmēśvara*.

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The writing on the pedestal, measures 26 cm in length and 10 cm in width. The letters vary in size from 1.5 cm to 2 cm. The inscription contains five lines. First four lines form four hemistichs of the metre *Śārdūla vikrīḍita*. In the last fifth line the date and the object of the inscription as stated below have been recorded.

The characters are Nāgarī which represent the usual features of the records of this period from Rajasthan. The difference between the forms of *ta* and *bha*, so also *cha* and *va* is negligible (*cf. tapōbhitilakaḥ*, line 4 and *paripūjitaś-cha vidhinā* (line 1). Two forms of the letter ya in *śriyaṁ* (line 3) and *mūrttimayaḥ*, line 4) are noteworthy. First form represents the transitional features, while the second its final transformation. The form of *ja* in *paripūjitaś-cha* (line 1) is also noteworthy for its transitional characteristics. Amongst the medial signs the form of *ū* is noteworthy in *paripūjitaś-cha* (line 1) and *paripūritā* (line 2). The engraving is done well to accommodate the lines in the specific space and some of the letters have got intermingled with each other and some of them are peeled off in course of time with the result that certain expressions are not quite clear. The engraver does not appear to have been a man of letters and engraved simply from a hand-written draft thereby missed and mistook some of the letters. The language of the record is Sanskrit which requires to be corrected and adjusted grammatically at places. No interesting orthographical feature is available here. The word *nipphaṁnna* (last line) for *nishpannaṁ* appears to have been engraved by mistake.

The date of the record Vikrama 1235, *Jyēshṭha* ba. 12, which though cannot be equated in the absence of the week day, may be equated, as we have stated elsewhere,[6] with May 5, A.D. 1179 according to the *Āshāḍhādi* or *Kārttikādi* calculation.

The inscription commences with a peculiar *siddham* symbol. Then it contains a stanza which records in the fourth line that this is the image of *śrī Bhāva* Sōmēśvara the foremost amongst the saints. We have already shown elsewhere[7] that the custom of setting up of images of high dignitaries was quite popular during the age in question. In the first three lines his eulogy throwing good light on his career has been recorded. It has been stated in the first line that *Bhāva Sōmēśvara* being one of excellent idealogy, worshipped Śiva (having moon on his forehead) with all formalities at the function which he chanced to celebrate. In the second line it is stated that the fame by itself approached knowing him to be the repository of various branches of learning. Third line contains more significant information that as he obtained the royal fortune or occupied the throne, his enemies disappeared (were killed) like the raised dust (disappearing). Then the date as noted above is given in the fifth line, which is followed by the statement containing the object of the inscription that the image of *Bhāva Sōmēśvara* was completed obviously on the same date.

Thus the contents are no doubt ambiguous and it is difficult to derive any definite historical information from them. The identity of *Bhāva* Sōmeśvara is also not quite clear.

We know that Chāhamāna Sōmēśvara ruled over the Chāhamāna kingdom

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around this time. He was brought from Gujarat and anointed on the Chāhamāna throne in Vikrama 1226.[8] Then he is stated to have ruled till Vikrama 1234,[9] as in Vikrama 1236,[10] we find his son Prithvīrāja III already in occupation of Chāhamāna throne. We have already discussed elsewhere[11] the matter pertaining to Sōmēśvara's abdication of throne in favour of his son Pṛithvīrāja III and himself becoming a recluse. Thus it would appear that Chāhamāna Sōmēśvara who had become a recluse should be identical with *Bhāva* Sōmēśvara of the present inscription. Then, who were the enemies of Sōmēśvara, who are said to have disappeared like the raised dust ? We know[12] that Sōmēśvara, had to fight with the Sōlaṁkis and was defeated by them, but it seems that this defeat was not a permanent one and he was ultimately successful in repulsing the enemies. That is what appears to have been indicated in the third line of our inscription. As Sōmēśvara had become a recluse it was natural for him to be called *tapōbhitilakaḥ* and to have got the epithet *Bhāva* (a worthy man). Regarding the epithet *Bhāva* we have already stated elsewhere[13] that it was an honorific title preceding generally the names of the saints and priests and here it has been extended to the name of a recluse king appropriately. In Sanskrit dramas the *sūtradhāra* is generally addressed as *Bhāva* by his assistants. However, our reading (*mau*) *līṁdōḥ paripūjitaś-cha vidhinā* (line 1) being acceptable, it will be easy to suggest that he was a Śaiva, but that he was the head also of the monastery cannot be substantiated in the present state of our knowledge. It is rather safe to say that the king had become a recluse after having relinquished the headship of a state and that he did not do so to accept the headship of a monastery. However, it may possibly be suggested that while he became a recluse there was some sort of celebration when he worshipped Śiva with all formalities. This is possibly the indication in the first line of the inscription.

Sōmēśvara had to spend time in the court of his maternal father where he was trained in all the branches of knowledge and thus it was natural that he became very famous and that is what has been stated in the second line.

Under such circumstances there does not appear to be any reference to Pṛithvīrāja III in the present inscription at all and whatever has been stated, it is all about Sōmēśvara. Thus *Bhāva* Sōmēśvara appears to have been the recluse king Sōmēśvara of the imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Sāmbhara and Ajmer.

Text[14]

1. Siddham[15] // [Mau[16]] līṁdōḥ[17] paripūjita [: *] sva (su) Vidhinā prāpt-ōtsava [:] [śrē] ya-dhīḥ /
2. Vidyābhih paripūrit-ākaraṁ[18]-iti prāptaṣ=[19] svayaṁ kīrttinā (kīrttyā)
3. u[20] [ddhū] llī (lī) chā (va) pi hi śatrava (vō)=sya nihatāḥ prāpta[21] sya [*] rājya-śriyaṁ (yam) /[22]
4. sō (s*) yaṁ mūrtti-mayaḥ tapō-bhitilakaḥ śrī Bhāva-Sōmēśvaraḥ // 1 //[23]
5. saṁvat 1235 jyēshtha vadi 12 nipphaṁnna (shpannā) mūrttim (rttir)-iti (//*)

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Notes and References

1. Ramsharma; *Last Days of Chāhamāna Sōmēśvara, Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta University, Vol. VI, p. 135.
2. *Prāchya Vidyā Taraṅgiṇī*, pp. 136-38 and plate.
3. This is *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, B. 845.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 155 ff. and plate and Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 319 ff. and plate.
5. *A.R.Ep., op. cit.*, No. B. 841, where either a disciple of *Bhāva* Vasanta Mūrtti or he himself as a disciple has been mentioned.
6. Ramsharma, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. IV, p. 156 and note 1.
8. *DHNI.*, Vol. II, p. 1080.
9. *Cf.* Bhandarkar's List, No. 380.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 391.
11. Ramsharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff.
12. D. Sharma; *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 70. Also see L.B. Desai, *Chauhāna Kula Kalpadruma* p. 30.
13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. VII, pp. 319-22 and note on the word *Bhāva*.
14. From ink impressions.
15. Expressed by a symbol.
16. It is difficult to make out this reading from the impression.
17. The *visarga* here are not very prominent and appear to have been added later on. Read: *Maulīnduḥ*.
18. Read: *ākara=iti*.
19. The sign for medial *ā* which is not required here appears to have been corrected into half *s* subsequently by the engraver.
20. The reading and corrections are tentative. The hemistich is *adhikākshara* and to regularize it may be corrected as *uddhūlīva hi*, etc. The letter *pi* may be omitted.
21. The expression as such is grammatically correct, but does not suit the metre and hence this correction.
22. However, it can be construed as *prāptaś=cha rājya-śriyā*, which will mean that he was obtained by the royal fortune herself.
23. Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

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16

JATĀRA WELL INSCRIPTION

S. SUBRAMONIA IYER*
AND
T.S. RAVISHANKAR**

The impression of the inscription edited below was found in a bundle of old impressions of inscriptions lying in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist. We are thankful to the Chief Epigraphist for permitting us to edit the inscription in the pages of this volume.

The inscription is stated to have been engraved in an old well called Laulāngaron-kī-bāorī which is situated half a mile beyond the north gate[1] in the village Jatāra in Jatara Tahsil in Tikamgarh District in Madhya Pradesh. The inscribed portion covers a space measuring 36.1 cms in length and 38.9 cms in breadth. There are two inscriptions engraved one below the other, the first being bigger than the other and better preserved. In this article, we propose to edit only the first inscription.

The inscription contains 17 lines of writing. The writing is in a good state of preservation except in the middle of lines 8 and 9 where the epigraph has suffered some damage resulting in the loss of some letters. The inscription is composed partly in poetry and prose. The poetry portion contains two verses and they are consecutively numbered. The characters are Nāgarī and are regular for the period. The language is Sanskrit which is altogether not free from mistakes. The scribe shows carelessness in engraving such as putting strokes in places where they are not engraved as in lines 3 and 4, omission of letters as in *ośayanē*[*na**] in line 2 *ośāsa*[*na**]–*ratā*[*ḥ**] in line 4. As for orthography, instead of the letter *b*; the letter *v* is invariably used as in *Vrahmaṇē* in line 1, *Vrahm=ēti* and *Vauddhā* in line 2, etc.

The inscription begins with the well known auspicious word *Om* followed by obeisance to Vra(Bra)hman. There are two invocatory verses in the beginning. The first verse is in praise of lord Vishṇu who is described in his primeval boar (Varāha)

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incarnation as lifting the earth with its tusk, during which process its cheeks got smeared with the mud of the Rasātala world, who is unconquerable, who resides in the ocean and who by his colour resembling that of the clouds outshines the hue of the sea. The second verse which is well known otherwise has been amended slightly here, the significant change being the substitution of the words *śrī-Viśvanāthaprabhuḥ* in the place of *Trailōkyanāthō Hariḥ* in the last *pāda*. Consequently, the verse which is originally Vaishṇavite in character became Śaivite here if the substituted word Viśvanātha is taken to denote Śiva as is more popularly understood.

Then follows the date portion which is significantly very elaborate. However, such details like the *yōga* and *karaṇa* found in other epigraphs[2] are however not given in the present epigraph. But the most interesting feature in the date portion is that the planetary positions like that of the Sun, the Moon are mentioned (unfortunately this portion in the epigraph has suffered damage and consequently part of it has been lost). This feature, it may be seen, is generally seen in the epigraphs from South India. The date is given both in Vikrama and Śaka years. It is dated in Vikrama 1491 and Śaka 1356. The cyclic year was Durmati. Other details given are Thursday, the 7th day in the bright fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha in the spring-season (Vasanta *ṛitu*) during the summer-solstice (Uttarāyaṇa) while the *nakshatra* was *Pushya*. The *lagna* is given as Karkkaṭaka. The expression *Vuṁga-viṁśatikāyām* in the date portion is interesting and not met with elsewhere. Can *Vuṁga* be a mistake for *Vaṁga* ? If so, it may probably refer to the 20th day of the solar month Vaiśākha originally followed by the people of Bengal (*Vaṁga*) whose era interestingly commences from the *Mēsha-saṁkrānti* (i.e. the commencement of solar *Vaiśākha*).[3] This agrees with the Indian Ephemeris. If this explanation is accepted, it may go to prove that the custom of using solar months spread from Bengal to other parts of India in course of time and this will be one of the earliest so far known epigraphical references to the use of solar months in North Indian calendar. The description of the 7th day in the bright fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha as *Ratha-saptami* in the date portion is however wrong as that festival falls only in the month of Māgha. According to Indian Ephemeris, the festival that falls on the 7th day in the bright fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha is Gaṅgā-saptami or Gaṅgōtpatti (birth of Gaṅgā).[4] The details of the date discussed above regularly correspond to A.D. 1434, April 15.

The inscription then describes king Nidāma-khān who is stated to be ruling over the country at that time. He is endowed with the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja*. But since he gets also the epithet *Śrīpādapadmōpajīvi*, it is quite obvious that he might have been a local chief. The epigraph then describes one Isamāil who is described as a resident of Jatahaḍa which is no doubt identical with the modern village Jatāra as administering (*vyāpṛiyamāṇē*) Patahaḍī-dēśa. The inscription then proceeds to state that for the purpose of feeding the brāhmaṇa which is indeed one of the most meritorious acts, Gadādhara who is described as devoted to his parents (*pitṛi-bhakta*) and the son of *sādhu Maharāja*, the son of *sādhu* Shama who is stated to be devoted to god and preceptor *dēva-guru-bhakta*) the son of

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Sau, the son of Shahā, *sādhu* Pūshā who is also devoted to his parents, Sājaita and Dēda who was probably the latter's son as evident from the expression *tatpādapadmōpajīvi* (meditating on his (father's) feet) out of devotion to their preceptor and kinsmen (*jñāti*) caused something to be installed, details of which are not clear from the epigraph. The inscription further states that Shēnā, the brother of Sāna Rāiṇī who is endowed with the sobriquet (*vaṁśa-dīpaka*) gave away his entire wealth earned through his profession by honest means and probably out of it caused a well brimming with water to be excavated for the redemption (*samuddharaṇārthaṁ*) of his parents and forbears. The well thus excavated was for affording relief to all beings who would frequent it and quench their thirst with its waters. The epigraph concludes with the well known benediction '*śubham astu*'.

The inscription is important as it reveals the existence of a Muslim dynasty ruling over the region around Jatāra in the 15th century A.D. The Persian inscription[5] fixed in the same Laulāngaron-kī-bāori and dated in the same year (A.H. 839, *Sha* 'bān 6, Thursday=A.D. 1436, February 24 the week day however being Friday) records the construction of the well on that date by Bhola Mahrāj a liquor seller and a resident of Jatāra during the governorship of Ismā'īl Khān, Son of Nizām Khān. Ismā'īl Khān and Nizām Khān of the inscription mentioned above are undoubtedly identical with Nidāma Khāna and Isamāil of the Sanskrit inscription under study. Bholā Maharāj who caused the well to be excavated according to the Persian inscription may probably be identical with *sādhu* Mahārāja figuring in the Sanskrit inscription though the identificatiōn is by no means certain. Y.K. Bukhari who edited the Persian inscription says "IsmāIīl Khān referred to in the record seems to be a governor owing allegiance to the Sultan of Kalpi, where a minor dynasty was reigning at the time when Kalpi was a buffer state between Jaunpur and Malwa. Nothing can be traced about him in the contemporary records. Hājjī Dabir in his Arabic History of Gujarat, however, mentions one Majlis-i-Sāmi Ismā'īl Khān, ruler of Kalpi, who arrived in A.H. 841 to Chanderi enroute to Gujarat from where he intended to proceed for pilgrimage. It is not definite if he is identical with the same Ismā'il Khān of the present epigraph".[6] In the introduction to the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1952-53, it is stated that "It is difficult to say whether the above mentioned chief was a governor or an independent ruler but the style in which the epigraph records his name (*cf.* the title Shamsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn) tends to suggest his independence though Persian chronicles do not mention any Ismā'īl Khān who held sway over Jatāra or that part of the country in the period in question".[7] In the light of this, it is difficult to identify both Nidāma-Khāna and Ismāil figuring in the Sanskrit inscription under study. There are however some important differences in the historical information supplied by the Persian and Sanskrit epigraphs though both of them are engraved in the same year on the same wall. While in the Persian inscription, Ismā'il Khān is described as the son of Nizām Khān in the Sanskrit inscription, this relationship is no where mentioned. Further in the Sanskrit inscription, in A.D. 1434 Nidāma-Khāna appears to have been alive and ruling the country.

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Jatahaḍā is no doubt identical with the modern village Jatāra. Paṭahaḍī-dēśa appears to have been the name of the region around Jatāra.

Text[8]

1. /[9] //[10] Ōm // Ōm Vra(Bra)hmaṇē namaḥ // Śrī-Ganēśāya namaḥ // Jitam=ajitēna bhagavatā jalanidhiḥ(dhi)-
2. śayanē[na*] jalada-varṇēna / Vasudh-ōddharaṇa-rasātalā(la)-paṁkākita gaṁḍa-tuṁḍēna // [//*][11] yaṁ Śai-
3. vā samupāsatē Śiva iti Vra(Bra)hm=ēti Vēdāṁtinaḥ /[12] Vau(Bau)ddhā Vv(Bu)ddha iti pramāṇa-paṭavaḥ
4. Kartt=ēti Naiyāyikaḥ / Arhaṁ(n) mity=api[13] yai(jai)na-śāsa[na*]-ratā[ḥ*] Karmm=ēti Mīmāṁsi(sa) Kā[ḥ*] //[14] sō=yaṁ
5. nō[15] Vidadhātu Vāṁchhita[16] padaṁ Śrī-Viśvanātha-prabhuḥ[17] // 2 [//*][18] Atha Śrīpati-Vikrama-Kā-
6. la-atīta Śālivāhana Śaka Varddhamānē saṁvat 1491 Śakē 1356 shashṭa (shṭ=ā) //[19]
7. vda(bda)-madhyē / Durmati-nāmasaṁvatsarē / [Vuṁga] viṁśatikāyāṁ / Uttarāyanē / Vasaṁtari(ṛi)tau / Mēsh-ā-
8. di Uttarē gōlē / Varishe[20] Vaiśākha śudi [7] . . . [gha] ṭikā 65 Rata-saptamī Guru-vāsarē / Pu-
9. shyu(shya)-nakshatrē / Karkkaṭa . . [Sau]myē Mēsharā . . . . . rya-sthitē Gurau / Śubha-grahāvalōkita-
10. Karkka-lagn-ōdayē / ēvaṁ guṇi-vishi(śi)shṭa-samayē / mahārājādhirāja-Śrīpāda-padmōpajīvī
11. Nidāma-shāna-rājyē / Paṭāhaḍī-dēśē / Jatahaḍā-Vāstavya / mahāshāna-Isamāil-Vyāpṛi(pri)-
12. yagā(mā)nē / Jasmiṁ(n)=kālē varttamānē paramapuṇy-ādhikaṁ Vra(bra) humaṇasy-āhārā[r*] tha[ṁ*] shahā putra sau-
13. tat=putra dēva-guru-bhakta sādhu Shama // ta[t=su] putra sādhu Maha-rōja / tat =suputra Gadādhara pitri(tṛi)-
14. bhakta sādhu Pūshā / tathā sājaita / tatpādapadmōpajīvī pu(su)putra Dēda gura(ru)-jñātibhakta[21] [rā]jyē pra-
15. tishṭita vaṁśa-ddīpaka sāna Rāiṇī bhrātṛi shēnā / sukīva-[22] vritti-nyāy-ārjita-dhanaṁ tatha srashṭā[23]
16. prītāyāmam[24] Śri-Nārāya[ṇa*]-nimittaṁ pūrvvajapitri-samuddharaṇārthaṁ / ēsha vāpī tīrthasyārthaṁ saṁ-
17. [bhā]ra-saṁyutaṁ / sarvva-jīva-viśrāma-sthāne[25] mayā miva(ba)ddhaḥ // Śubham=astu //

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Notes and References

1. *Orchch State Gazetteer*, pp. 77-78.
2. *Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 27, 289 etc.
3. *Indian Epigraphy*, D.C. Sircar, p. 312.
4. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 60.
5. *A.R.I.E.*, 1952-53, C. 159.
6. *Ep. Ind. Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1953 and 1954), pp. 30 f.
7. *A.R.I.E.*, 1952-53, p. 21.
8. From impressions.
9. There is an ornamental design on the right side.
10. There is another ornamental figure on the left side.
11. The metre is *Āryā*.
12. The single stroke is redundant.
13. The correct reading should be *ity=atha*.
14. The two strokes are redundant.
15. In the original verse, the word used here is *vō*.
16. Read *vāñchita*.
17. In the original verse, the expression is *Trailōkya-nāthō Hariḥ*.
18. The metre is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*
19. The two strokes are redundant.
20. Read *māsē*.
21. Read *bhaktyā*.
22. Read *svakīya*.
23. Read *utsṛishṭaḥ*.
24. Read *prītyarthaṁ*. Probably the writer of the record would have intended *Nārāyaṇasya prītyarthaṁ*.
25. Read *sarvva-jīva-viśrāmārtham atra sthānē*.

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17

VINNAKŌṬA PLATES OF AMMA I

M. D. SAMPATH*

This copper-plate inscription of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty discovered at Vinnakōṭa, Gudivada taluk, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1960-61, as No. A 3. This is a set of five copper-plates, the first being inscribed on its inner side, while the last plate bears writing on both their sides like all other plates. Some of the plates are little damaged. The preservation of writing on the last plate, second side is not satisfactory.

The characters of the record belong to the southern class of alphabets, quite regular to the time and locality to which the inscription belongs. It may be observed that the final consonants *k*, *m* and *r* are represented each by a special sign. *Visargas* and *anusvāras* are denoted by dots. A sign for *upadhmānīya* in line 11 is interesting.

The language of the record is Sanskrit; and the text is a mixture of prose and verse. The style is good and clear. It may be noted that the consonants preceding *r* are doubled. The words like *ajanishṭha* in line 38 and *abhramu* in line 44 are interesting.

The charter refers itself to the reign of the king Chāḷukya Amma I (A.D. 921-27) and bears the details of date. The object of the charter is to register the grant of the village Penubulugu in Dakshiṇa-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya by king Amma I to his minister (*amātya*) Chāmyaṇaśarman on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa*. A supplementary grant at the end of the charter registers a gift of 24 *khaṇḍugas* of land in the south-eastern part of Nammūru to a certain Svāmi-Kumāra-sarman on a similar occasion.

The record contains three parts, the first part tracing the genealogy of the kings down to Amma I refers to the latter's initial year (lines 18-20); part two describes the qualifications of his minister and the details of the donee, boundaries of the gift village, etc. and part three records another grant to a brāhmaṇa in a different village.

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The record commences with an invocation of the deity Sudarśana (Vishṇu) followed by the usual introduction of the Chāḷukya family and the description of the royal genealogy in several verses beginning from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana down to Amma I. This part of the text is somewhat identical with the corresponding portion of the Eḍēru plates of this king.[1] But the present charter furnishes additional information especially in the genealogical portion tracing the king Bhīma. In the account of Eastern Chāḷukya genealogy, it follows the details in two other sets of one of his predecessors.

In this charter, the elder brother of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana is referred to as Satyāśraya (line 5). Vishṇuvardhana is introduced here as the ruler of Vēṅgī. It is probable that he took over this country after the conquest of Durjjaya.[2] The chronology introduced in this plate contains the usual genealogical list except for the inclusion of Indrabhaṭṭāraka's rule of seven days after Jayasiṁha. Coming to Vijayāditya, the ninth king in the genealogy, we come to know that he has been assigned a reign period of 18 years as in other records and the only plate that assigns nineteen years is the Vinnakōṭa plates of Bhīma.[3] The sixteenth king i. e., Vijayāditya who ruled for 6 months is credited with the biruda *Chāḷukyatilaka.* The eleventh ruler Vijayāditya II is credited with a victory over the Śagaraṭṭas. It is not known whether these are the same as the Raṭṭas. In this plate Bhīma, the fifteenth king in the genealogical list is known by his surname *Nirupama.* Amma I is stated to be the son of Vijayāditya who ruled for a short period.

It is said in this record that Amma had his coronation after his victory over his own kinsmen (*dāyādas*). He vanquished his *dāyādas*[4] by the prowess of his power. The relevant text referring to this reads :

Ammarājō jayādhārō-dhīrō dāyāda vāraḥ

The power of this king who is also called *Rājamahēndra* is described at length (lines 20-32). In reality, we know that Amma I was all along at war either with his own kinsmen or with his adversaries viz., the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[5] It is evident from this that he followed an aggressive policy of war with his neighbours. No doubt the description at length about his valour is little hyperbolic and gives the nature of poetic skill in this composition.

This charter furnishes the date of his coronation viz., Śaka 843 (*agni-vēda-dviradapati*), Vṛisha, moon in Siṁha-lagna, Tvāshṭra (Chitra) -nakshatra and Sunday corresponding to A.D. 921, April 22. The *tithi* and month though not readable has been taken to be *śukla-paksha trayōdaśi* and Vaiśākha respectively. The word *kalidina* is not traceable. The expression *paṭṭabandaṁ kramāptaṁ* occurring in the text (11. 19-20) refers to his coronation. It has been held from the expression *sva-rājyābhishēka-kṛita-kalyāṇaḥ*[6] mentioned in his Eḍēru plates that this record was issued on the occasion of his coronation ceremony. No doubt the reference to his annointment in this plate is clear but it is difficult to say whether the grant was issued on this occasion. In all probability this plate may be fixed in the year A.D. 921, the date of his

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coronation that is mentioned in the charter under discussion. The details of the date given for the coronation of Amma I and the occasion on which our plate has been issued lends itself to the interpretation that it may be placed first in the chronological order and held to have been issued in the very first year of his reign. The occasion on which the grant was made is stated to be *Uttarāyaṇa* and this should have followed the date of his coronation in his first year itself. In which case, the *uttarāyaṇa* falls on Sunday, the 23rd December, A. D. 921, when the *nakshatra* was Hasta. Strangely enough the star on the following day was Chitrā.

The record credits him with several epithets like *Sarvalōkāśraya*, *Rājamahēndra* and *Vishṇuvardhana*. In addition to the usual imperial titles,[7] he is given the epithet *Paramabrahmaṇya*.

The record states that Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana was also called Satyāśraya. This name is known to have been borne by his Chālukyan counterpart, Pulakēśi II. Further Vishṇuvardhana is referred to as *Vēṅgī-vallabha* from the time of Amma I onwards.[8] It is quite probable that his conquest was not complete till this date.

Another point of interest is the war between Vijayāditya and the Raṭṭas. Fleet had suggested that it should have taken place during the reign periods of Gōvinda III and Amōghavarsha. The present record is not clear enough to indicate that Vijayāditya II had owned over his Rāshṭrakūṭa adversary. It is not impossible that the Śagaraṭṭas may be identified with the Ṛaṭṭas (i.e. the Rāshṭrakūṭas). The Eastern Chālukya records claim for his victory over his Rāshṭrakūṭa adversaries. This may be roughly assigned to a date after A. D. 800.

Bhīma, the grandfather of Amma I is introduced with the biruda *Nirupama*. The name Nirupama assumed by him reminds us of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Nirupama-Dhruva of the Mānyakhēṭa branch. He married Śīlamahādēvī, the daughter of Vishṇuvardhana IV of the Chālukya family. It is therefore clear that this name was assumed by Bhīma through his paternal relationship with Vijayāditya II and his maternal relationship with Nirupama-Dhruva.

It is interesting to note that in almost all the records of Amma I, the grant is made over to a brāhmaṇa[9] and especially it is his military officers who are honoured. In the present character his minister Chāmyaṇa-śarman *alias* Sucharitābharaṇa, son of Annāmayya and grandson of Ereya-śarman of Sālkalūru is honoured by the grant of a village in Kaṇḍrēḍuvishaya. It may be suggested that he encouraged officers in the military profession so that they might be loyal to him. Indeed, this really contributed to his success in his wars.

The record further refers to a *sēnāpati* called yuderāja. He is described as a *mantri-purōhita* of king Amma I. We do not hear of any other details about this Commander-in-chief here and elsewhere.

The minister of Amma I, Chāmyaṇa-śarman is a great scholar well-versed in the Vēdas and Śāstras, a performer of many sacrifices, great in his munificence and

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one who shouldered the responsibilities of administering the kingdom. He has been held in high esteem in the villages and cities of Vēngi-rājya and he held this office from the period of Satyāśraya.

The *ājñapti* of this grant was Kaṭakarāja while the composer and the engraver *lēkhaka* were Mādhavabhaṭṭa and Koṇḍāchārya respectively.

The villages Penubulugu and Nammūru must be contiguous since the latter is described as the north-eastern boundary of the former. The village Śaṅkaraṁbu may be identified with Śakharaṁbu or Sakaramu in Guntur Taluk and District. It is not improbable that the grant village is in the same district.

Notes and References

1. *SII.*, Vol. I, text, pp. 39-40; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 50.
2. *A.B.Ep.*, 1960-61, A 1 and Intro., p. 13.
3. *Ibid.*, A 2 and Intro. p. 14.
4. *SII.*, Vol. I, p. 40, text 11. 38-40.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 43.
6. *SII.*, Vol. I, p. 40, text 11. 43.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 43-44.
8. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 94.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 43.

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VINNAKOṬA PLATES OF AMMA I

*Text**

First Plate

1. Chakraṁ Sudarśanaṁ Śaurēś=Śakra-lōk-aika pālanaṁ (nam)[1*] Chakr-āri-dāraṇaṁ va[s*]=syur=vikrmāś=cha mudē trayaḥ /[1/*] Svasti śrī-
2. matāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām Harīti-putrā-ṇāṁ Kauśikīvarapras-āda-la-
3. bdha-rājyānāṁ māṭri-gaṇa-paripālītānāṁ Svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānuddhyā-tānāṁ Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-
4. prasāda-samāsādimā-varā-varaha-lāṁchhan-ēkshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-ārāti-maṇḍa-lānām=Aśvamēdh-ā-
5. vabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrīkṛita-vapushāṁ Chalukyānāṁ kulam=alaṁkari-shnōḥ Satyāśraya-vallabhasya
6. bhrātā=' shṭādaśa vatsarāna (n=a) bhūt=pūrvvaṁ Kubja-Vishṇuvard-dhanō Vēṁgī-vallabhaḥ[1*] Jayasiṁhavallabhō=' bhū-
7. t=triṁśatam=trika-saṁyutāṁ (tān) // [2 //*] tad-bhrāt-ēndr-ākhya-bhaṭṭārō rājā sapta dinān=abhūt [/*] Nav-ābdān-Vishṇurājō=' tō jajñē Maṁgi-
8. yuvarājaḥ paṁchaviṁśatim=atō=' bhūj=Jayasiṁhas=trayōdaśa[/*] Devai-mātur=ānujas=tasya shan (ṇ)=māsān=Kokkili-
9. prabhuḥ [/*] yuddhē sv=ānujam=uchchāṭya Vishṇurājas=tad-agrajaḥ / Sapta-triṁśa [t*]=samā rāja-rājīva-sad-varānana [ḥ*]

Second Plate : First Side

10. tata=āsīd=Vijayādityā [t*] rāj=āshṭādaśa-vatsarān [/*] tatō-'bhūdd= Vishṇurāja [ḥ*] shaṭtriṁśatam=ilēśvaraḥ[/*] tat-sutō
11. Vijayādityaś=chatvāriṁśat=samā prabhuḥ / Śagaraṭṭa-balābhyō yō yuddhā [n*] nirjjitya tad-bala... laya...

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12. kṛitavān=yuddha-saṁkhyayā // śrī Vishṇuvarddhan-ākhyas=tat-sūnus=s-ārddha-vatsaraṁ chatubhir=v Vijayādityaś=chatvāriṁśata-

13. m=asya tu // tad-anuja...rajad-Vikramāditya nāmnaḥ prabhur=abhavad-arāti-vrāta tūl-ānilōhaḥ niru-

14. pama-nṛipa-Bhīmas=triṁśataṁ-vatsarāṇāṁ nija-guṇa-gaṇa-kīrtti-vyāpta-dik-chakravālaḥ tat-putrō ripu-kuṁbhi-kuṁbha-da-

15. lana drāṅ-mukta-muktāphala-jyōtirb=bhāsura-khaḍga-rakshita-jagat-sorkkēna galpādhipaḥ Vēṁgī-dēśam-adā-

16. ch=chha (Cha)lukyatilakaḥ shan (ṇ)=māsan=ēv=āmaras=trīsaṁyōga-samutsukas=sa Vijayādityaḥ pratap-ōnnataḥ ajāyata

17. sutas=tasya bhūbhār-ōddvahanaḥ (na)-kshamaḥ Ammarājō jayā-dhārō-dhīrō dāyāda-virahā sahi bhuvanaika vīr-ā-

18. para-nāmā-śaṇḍa-raṇḍaḥ Rājamahēndra iti vikhsāta-nāmadhēyaḥ Śākē yātē=' gni-vēda-dvi [radapati] m-itē-

Second Plate : Second Side

19. yātē śrī Vṛishākhyē jitv=ārīn=siṁhalagnē śaśini gatavati tvāshṭram=ādityavārē.....paṭṭa-

20. bandhaṁ kramāptaṁ chakrīv-āchandra-tāraṁprabhur-avanibhṛitāṁ Vikramēṇ-Āmmarājē śāsati yasmin-rājani nara-nṛiga.....

21. Bharata-Rāmanibhē kṛitiyuga-līlāṁ dharaṇi=vvitanōti chatus=samudra vēlāvalayaṁ / yasya cha hēlāvakṛishṭa-karavāla-vi-

22. daḷi-ārivītālakāsya vara-vāra-vilāsinī-shu / Pāṇḍu-prabhāsu jayinaḥ pratibiṁbit=ēva vikrāntir=aṁsala-

23. bhuja-vyuditō vibhāti // balarajō.....[r-ōdhatāṁ] na sahatēnu niruddha divākaraṁ atanu gaṇḍara-

24. gaṇḍa mahīpatēr-ari-nṛipaḥ kuta..... // yaś=cha / Śiva iva śakti-traya-saṁpannō na Virūpākshaḥ / Nārā-

25. ya [ṇa*] iva Lakshmī-vallabhō na malin-āṁgaḥ / Brahm=ēva sāmayōnir=nna babu-mukhaḥ sura-kar=īv=ānavarata-dān-ārdrīkṛita-karō na-

26. rajō-bahulaḥ / dhanada iva dhanī punya (ṇya)-janēśvaraś=cha / jala dhir=iva gāṁbhīryya-guṇ-ānvitō=' gādha-satvaś=cha / dina-kara iva sad-vṛitta-ma-

27. ṇḍalaḥ / Guha-iv=āpratihata-śaktir=mmērur=iv=ālaṁghya-mahimā / śaś=īva kumuda-vana-dyōtana.....

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Third Plate : First side

28. ityaddhā tathāhi / pātālaṁ pīti dhātrī bharam=atilaghayan=bhōginān= tad-dharāṇām satyān-ōttabhya bhūmiṁ

29. Manu-naya-charitō madhyaṁ [maṁ]ddhāpilōkaṁ / jitvārīn-kaṁṭṭa(ṭa)kān =apy=anavarata-mahā sapta-tantu-prapaṁchaiḥ dēvā-

30. ntat-prīti-dānair=ddivam=api sukhayann-Amma-rājādhirājaḥ / Vijayādityē gatavati kālavaśād=astamō-

31. jasō rāśau / Rājamahēndraś=chandrō jagad-ānandī sam-abhyuditaḥ / yaṣ= cha bandu-padma-vanādityaḥ

32. kāminī-jana-Manmathaḥ / chakrāri bhūpa-chakr-ājau vaivasvata sama-prabhaḥ / sa sarvvalō-

33. kāśraya śrī Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭā-rakaḥ-paramabra-

34 hmaṇyaḥ-paramamāhēśvarō mātā-piṭri-pād-ānudhyātaḥ dakshiṇa-Kaṇṭēru-vāṭi-vishaya-nivā-

35. sinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭuṁbinaḥ mantri-purōhita-sēnāpati-yuva-rājā [para ?]ma pra-

36. bhṛitiṁś=cha rāja-purushāṁ† (shān)=sarvvān=āhūy=ēttham=ājñāpayati [/ *] viditam=astu.....

Third Plate : Second Side

37. kē...sa[rvva]...prathita tera mahimni prāpta-sat-paurusha śrīḥ abhijanu mananīya Sālkalūru

38. prasiddhaḥ=prabhur-Ereyama-śarmmā dharmmavermm-ājanishṭa / vikhyā-tō Annamāryy-ākhya dvivēdi tat-sutō

39. jenī [/ *] yad-vēdi-madhyam=adhyāstē havyāya Maghav=ānvaham / tasy= āsīd-Aravindanābha sadṛiśas=sūnus=satā

40. m=agraṇīr=vvidyābhyāsa-viśēsha dhī guṇa-gaṇa-tyāg-ābhimān-ōnnataḥ / sv-āchār-ābharaṇa-pra-

41. galbha-janatā saṁgrāhi-sad-bāndhavaḥ śrīmach-Chhāmyaṇa-nāmadhēya-ruchirō nityōdaya-

42. s=satyavāk / prabaddh-ōddhara-santānē / vēda-śāstr-ōjva (ōjjva) līkṛitē āch-āra niratē bhāti / yat-ku-

43. lē brahmavarchchasam = ajasraṁ havir=ādātuṁ yēn=āhūta=śśatakratuḥ Śachyā sannaddha ēv=āstē sa-

*ru is written below the line.

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44. māruhy=Ābhramūpatim / yaś(s)ya cha / prāsādachandra-śālā su paṁjarastha-su(śu)k-āvaliḥ apīpaṭa(ṭha) d=yath-ā-

45. mnāyam=āmnāya skhalit-ārbbhakān / api cha / ātidhya-nirmmāṇa paramparāyām=[pā] dōdakair-[māna]-

46. mitam=pavitram yasy [ājirē] nōva sahasra-raśmin-ni[dā]gha-kālē...na karōti / yaś=chā(cha) satyā-

47. śraya-prabhriti (bhṛiti) tat-kulaj-ādi-rāja-siṁhāsana-krama-gat-ōdita-vaṁśajātaḥ [/ *] Vēṁggī-viśēsha-visha-

48. y-ēśvara-rājadhānī-grām-āgrahāra-mahanīya-nija-prabhāvaḥ / kiñcha / yaddhāmni nityan=charaṇa-

49. surāṇām=bhukt-ōjjhitam=bhūri sugandhi labdhvā / bahir=nnigartēshu...

50. ...dhanyatarā bhavanti = yaś=cha / vajrēndra-nīla-marakaṭa-paṁkaja-rāś (rāśy)-ādi vividha

51. maṇibhēdaṁ addhā-buddha-bhaṭādin=atiśay-Āgastya iva vētti = yaś=cha bhudyā sura-guru-cha-

52. ritēna manun=tējasā divasakaraṁ sārēṇa mēruṁ gāṁbhīryyēṇ-āṁbhōnidhiṁ kshamayā kshamām=apratihata śa-

53. ktyā śakti-dharaṁ parākramēṇa chakra-dharaṁ rūpa-vilāsēna makara-kētanam=ati-yajñ-ānēna (?) śiśira-kara śīkara

54. m=adhyayana-pariṇata-tayā chaturāna [na*]m=uśamasan=nityāṁ sakala [kava tana] pūrṇa vandan-ātiśa-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

55. yya varttatē / tasmai sakala--guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛitāya vēda-vēdāṅga-pāragāya shaṭ-karmma-niratāya su-cha-

56. rit-ābharaṇ-āparanāmadhēyāy=āmātya-Chāmyana-śarmmaṇē samasta-rājyabhār-ōdvahana paritō.

57. d-uttarāyaṇa nimittēna sarvva-kara-parihāram=udaka-pūrvvaṁm...agra (ṁ agra) hārīkṛitya grāma(mā) dikaṁ Penubu-

58. lugu-nāma-grāmō...' smābhir...ddatta iti /
Asya grāmasy...āvadhayaḥ pūrvvataḥ //
Duggarē-

59. nipūṇḍi-sīm...aiva sīma // āgnēyataḥ Śaṁkaraṁbu-sīm...aiva sīm // dakshiṇataḥ nai-

60. ri(ṛi)tya taś...cha Kōlaṁkalūri-sīm...aiva sīma //
paśchimataḥ vāyavya taś...cha Nammūri-

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61. sīm...aiva sīma // uttarataḥ īśānya taś...cha Koṇḍayūri-sīm...aiva sīma // asy...āgrahār a-

62. sy...ōpari na kēnachid...bādhā karttavyā[*]
yaś...cha bādhāṁ(bādhā) karōti as pañcha (pañcha)-mahāpātaka-saṁyu—

63. ktō bhavati [//*] Taththā ch...ōktaṁ bhagavatā Vyāsēna [//*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām / sha-

Fifth Plate : First Side

64. shṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇāṁ(ṇi) vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē kṛimiḥ // yaś...cha dharmmaṁ paripālayati sa svarggada[pha].

65. la viśēsha bhāg...bhavati tathā ch=ōk [ta*]m //
Bahubhir...vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś...cha...ānupālitā [/*] yasya yasya

66. yadā bhūmis...tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [//*]
Rāmabhadrēṇ...āpi dharmmaṁ kṛitvā tad-rakshaṇ-ārtthaḥ dharmma pra-

67. tipālana katā(kathā) bhāvinō bhūpālāḥ prārtthyantē // Sarvvān...ētān... [bhāvinaḥ] pārtthiv-ēndrān bhū-

68. yō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ [/*] sāmānyō...'ya[ṁ*] dharmma-sētur... nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kā-

69. lē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [//*] Ājñapti[ḥ*]
Kaṭakarājaḥ Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya kāvyam //

70. Koṇḍāchāryyēṇa likhitaṁ // tad-vishayē ... .
Nammūru-nivāsinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pra-

71. mukhān...kuṭumbinas...samāhūy...ēttham...ājñāpayati //
tasmai Svāmi Kumāra-śarmmaṇē saharsham...uttarāyaṇa-

72. nimittē Nammūr-āgnēyān...diśi chatur...vviṁśati khaṇḍika-kōdrava-bijāvāpa pramāṇam[dattam]

Fifth Plate : Second Side

73. .....

74. .....

75. .....

76. [yata kṛi]..... [ma ku]..... ya // Ājñaptiḥ Kaṭakarājaḥ //[1]

[1]The text could not be read perfectly on account of the damaged portions in the plate.

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18

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF CHANDELLA MADANAVARMAN

K.M. Biiadri*

The two inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, were found during my epigraphical tour in 1982. Both of them belong to the reign of Madanavarman.

A. Salāṭa Jaina image inscription (*V.S. 1210*)

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of a *tīrthaṁkara* lying in a field opposite a dilapidated temple near the village of Salāṭa in the Charkhari Tahsil of the Hamirpur District, Uttar Pradesh. The image can be identified as that of Ṛishabhanātha on the basis of the vṛishabha-lāñchhana engraved in the middle of the writing.

The epigraph consists of two lines. It is written in Nāgarī characters and the language is Sanskrit. It is dated in Vikrama 1210, Āshāḍha śu. 2, Monday, regularly corresponding to A.D. 1154, June 14. It refers to the reign of (Chandēlla) Madanavarman.

The inscription records the perpetual obeisance to Ṛishabhanātha of Pālhaṇa, Tālhaṇa, Gālhaṇā and Sūlhaṇa, sons of *ṭhakkura* Ābhaṭa, brother of *sādhu* Salash ū, both the brothers being the sons of *sādhu* Śrīvali of the Laṁbkaṁchuk-ānvaya and belonged to Maṁḍillapura. The two sculptors (*rūpakāra*), obviously of the image, Dhareṇīdhara and Kākū are also mentioned at the end.

Maṁḍillapura from which the merchant family hailed also occurs in another record[1] in Vikrama 1208 where it is spelt as Maṁḍilapura.

Laṁbakañchuk-ānvaya to which the merchant family belonged is of rare occurrence and quite interesting. The name seems to have originated from the long coat that was probably worn by the early members of this family.

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Text

1. Saṁvat 1210, Āshāḍha sudi 2 Sōmē Maṁḍillapurē Śrīman-Madanāvarmma-vijaya-rājyē Laṁva(ba)-kaṁchuk-ānvayē sādhu Śrīvali tasy=ātmaja sādhu Salashū tasya bhrātā // 8 //
2. ṭṭha(ṭha)kkura Śrī Ābhaṭa tasya putra(trāḥ)
Pālhala(ṇa) Tālhala(ṇa) Gālhaṇa Sūlhaṇa // //
[dē]va Śrī Ṛī(Ṛi) shabhanāthaṁ praṇamaṁti nityaṁ //
rūpakāra Dharaṇīdhara tathā rūpakāra Kāku // 8 //

B. Mahōbā Jaina image inscription (V.S. 1215)

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of a *tīrthaṅkara* kept in the compound of the Municipal Office at Mahōbā, a Taluk headquarter in the Hamirpur District, in Uttar Pradesh. On the basis of the existance of Śankha-lāñchhana carved on the pedestal the image can be identified as that of the twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara* Nēminātha.

The epigraph consists of two lines writing. It is written in Nāgarī characters. The language is Sanskrit. It is dated in Vikrama Saṁvat 1215, Pausha śu. 10, Thursday, Rōhiṇī nakshatra. These details of the date regularly correspond to A.D. 1159, January 1. It refers to the victorious reign of Madanavarman, who on the basis of the date and the provenance of the epigraph can be certainly identified with the Chandēlla ruler of that name ruling between A.D. 1129-1163.[2]

The object of the epigraph is to record the making of an image of Nēmīśvara and the perpetual obeisance of the members of the Grahapati family. After the reference to the victorious reign of Madanavarman and the date, the inscription records the perpetual obeisance of the five sons, viz., *Sādhu* Sāḍhē, *Sādhu* Sīlē, *Sādhu* Śāṁti, Sōmē and Lālē, sons of *sādhu* Vāvī of the Grahapati family, to Nēmīśvara. It further states that an auspicious image of Nēmīsvara was caused to be made by the illustrious and pious Jīhala son of Śāṁtinātha, who expanded the family and who was born after the honourable and pious *sādhu* Vāvī of the Grahapati family. Here the expression *tadanukulavikāsī* preceding Śāṁtinātha is ambiguous. It does not clearly indicate the relation between Vāvī and Śamtinātha. The non-mention of relationship existing between the two leads one to doubt as to whether Śaṁtinātha was a son or brother of Vāvī. This issue is further complicated by the fact that one of the five sons of Vāvī cited above was named Śāṁti which can be nothing but a contraction of Śāṁtinātha. Thus it is tempting to identify Śāṁti, the son of Vāvī with Śaṁtinātha, the father of Jīhala. But, that these two individuals are not identical is indicated by the introduction of the name Vāvī for the second time thereby distinguishing the persons preceding and following this name. Further, the word *anu* in the expression *tadanukulavikāsī* gives a clue to know the relation between Vāvī and Śāṁtinātha. In short, it means that Śāṁtinātha was the younger brother (*anuja*) of Vāvī. It is interesting in this case to note that both the uncle (i.e. Śāṁtinātha) and the nephew (Śāṁti) had the same name.

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At the end of the record are mentioned the relatives and friends who also probably joined in saluting the *tīrthañkara*. The epithet *sādhu* prefixed to the majority of the names indicates that all the persons mentioned in this record belonged to the merchant communiṭy.

The reference to the existance of a Grahapati family in the record under study is quite interesting. In some other epigraphs of the Chandēllas also the name of this family finds mention. The earliest to refer to the Grahapati family is the Khajurāhō stone inscription of Kokkala[3] dated in Vikrama 1058. It traces the genealogy of Kokkala from Yaśōbala of Padmāvatī and records the erection of a temple in honour of Vaidyanātha by him. According to Kielhorn[4], Kokkala was a small chief or noble (evidently under the Chandēllas) dwelling at Khajurāhō. Though some of the members of this family are described like great heros, in this record, nowhere it is clearly stated that they were Kshatriyas by caste. Next come two inscriptions[5] on the images in the Jaina temples at Khajurāhō. One of them is dated in Vikrama 1205. It mentions *śrēshṭhi* Pāṇidhara of the Grahapati family and his three sons. The other record bears no date and it only mentions the name of *śrēshṭhi* Pāṇidhara. Pāṇidhara of both these records seems to be the same individual. Next in chronological order is the Horniman Museum Jaina image inscription,[6] dated in Vikrama 1208, mentioning *śrēshṭhi* Māhula and others belonging to the Grahapati family of Maṁḍilapura. Lastly, there is yet another Jaina image inscription[7] from Khajurāhō, dated in Vikrama 1215. It records the making of an image by *sādhu* Sālhē, the grandson of śrēshṭhi Dēdū of the Grahapati family.

Thus there are six epigraphs mentioning the Grahapati family, including the one under study. Their dates range between Vikrama 1058 to 1215. It may be noted that there is a gap of about 150 years between the Grahapati family to which Kōkkala belonged and those that flourished later and any relation between the two cannot be established. There seems to be no mutual relationship even among the Grahapati families that were contemporary.

Thus one finds a number of families bearing the name Grahapati who played an important role in the political and economical fields under the Chaṅdēllas.

Text

1. Śrīman-Madanavarmmadēva-Vijayarājyē//Saṁvat 1215 Pausha sudi 10 Gurau [Rō*] hiṇyāṁ // Grahapat-yanvayē ṣādhu śrī Vāvī tasya putra sādhu Saḍhē tathā sādhu Sīlē tathā sādhu Śāṁti tathā Sōmē tathā Lālē // ētē putra [ḥ*] Nēmīsvaraṁ praṇamaṁti nityaṁ // Grahapati-kula-mānyō sādhu Vāvī sudharmma-dhīḥ / ta-danu kula-vikāsī śrī Śāṁtināthō babhūvaḥ(va) //

2. tasy-ātmjō=jani Jīhala-sa (saṁ jña ēsha...na dharmma-niratas=cha suprasiddhaḥ / sō=yaṁ Nēmīśvarā. dē.....s=tēn=ēdaṁ Kāritaṁ bhadraṁ bhuvi superasiddaṁ // // sā[dhu] Śrīpati tasya sutaḥ sādhu Śāṁti/tathā parama-mitra sādhu śrī Gōgē / Jāṁjalaś-cha...sā...ṇi...

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Notes and References

1. *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 101-02.
2. *History of the Chaṅḍēllas*, p. 85.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 147-52.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.
6. *JARS.*, 1898, p. 101.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 153.

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19

PROCESS OF TAMILISATION OF SANSKRIT TERMS IN MEDIEVAL TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

K.S. RAMACHANDRAN*

Inscriptions engraved on the walls of the temples, *prakaras*, loose stones, copper plate grants, etc., in south India, as elsewhere as well, form a veritable archive for the study, interpreting and understanding the socio-economic and religio-political history of the times and the region. These are recorded in the then prevailing scripts Pallava grantha, Vatteluttu, Tamil and Grantha. The earlier inscriptions of the Pallavas are in Sanskrit language, which in course of time was replaced by Tamil. Yet the usage of Sanskrit language was not totally discarded as evidenced by the *prasastis* in copper-plates or for that matter by the few invocatory verses in Grantha script in later times. In this process one cannot fail to observe the innate urge of the people or the ruler of the times endeavouring to Tamilize Sanskrit terms and words. These have either been rendered into Tamil literally or by using a word or term conveying the meaning in the best possible manner of the Sanskrit term or word intended to be replaced or discarded.

But it would be a mistake if it is presumed that the use of Sanskrit terms were totally abandoned. Evidence shows that there was no such fanatic or chauvanistic impulse among the people of the times. The occurrence of several words alien to Tamil viz., *Śrībalī*, *Vimāna*, *Kalaśa*, *pādādikēsānta*, *Śūla*, *Kapāla*, *Ḍamaruka*, *Makuṭa*, *Jagatipaṭṭa*, *Prabhai*, *Pādapiṭha*, *upapīṭha*, *Bāhuvalaya*, etc., bear ample witness to this. Such words are mostly technical terms of architecture or weapons, ornaments and attributes of divine/semi-divine beings.

The data for this study have been culled out from the epigraphs published in the inscriptions, particularly those of Raja Raja I and his successors found in the Brihadisvara Temple, Thanjavur (*SII*, Vol. 2), the Chōḷas (*SII*, XIII), the Pandyas (*SII*, XIV), the inscriptions of Parakesarivaraman (*SII*, XIX)and the *inscriptions* (*Texts*) of the *Pudukkottai State*. Here, however, it should be made clear that the evidence thus collected is not at all exhaustive and it is the intention of the writer

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only to show the trend and the process of Tamilization that had already set in as an indicator of the social change amongst the populace.

This process can be identified under a few selected headings as place names, names of god and mortals, and other miscellaneous terms.

A. Place names

In the majority of instances place names occur as an adjunct to personal names. To enumerate a few :

An epigraph of Raja Raja I dated in his 29th year found inscribed on the wall outside the north enclosure mentions that the ruler had endowed grants for signing *tiruppadiyam* in the temple at Thanjavur.[1] The names of the recepients of the grants are identified with their native places prefixed to their personal names. Thus we have 'Tiruveṇṇāval Semporchidiyanāna Dakshinameru Viṭankan' (line 5) 'Ainurrūvan Veṇkaḍanana Satya Śivan' (line 8), and 'Maraikkāḍan Nambi Ārūrān' (line 13). Here Tiruveṇṇāval represents Jambukeśvara, *nāval* being the Tamil term for *Jambūphala* (incidentally the *sthalavriksha* of the temple also), Maraikkāḍu and Veṇkāḍu are literal renderings into Tamil of Vedaranya and Svetaranya. An inscription of Ko Parakesari Rajendra I (6th year) records the grant to one Tirumudukunranāna Vijayarajendra Acharayan and his troupe for enacting *Raja Rajesvara Nāṭaka.*[2] Here Mudukunram happens to be the literal Tamil version of Sanskrit Vriddhachalan, a town in the South Arcot district of Tamil Nadu.

A third instance is that of Kudumiyamalai, in the Pudukkottai district, which is mentioned as Śikhānallur in an inscription (line 10) of Sundara Pandya (14th regnal years.)[3] Here *Śikhā* is equivalent to the Tamil word *Kudumi.*

Again in Sanskrit inscriptions[4] Tondaimandalam the territory ruled over the Pallavas is referred to as Toṇḍīramaṇḍala, Tuṇḍīramanḍala, Tuṇḍaraka vishya, etc. which in Tamil epigraphs is mentioned as Toṇḍainādu, thereby giving the Tamil equivalent of *Maṇḍala* as *nāḍu.*

B. Names : Gods, mortals etc.

Coming to the category of names representing either god or human beings we find the same process of Tamilization. In the inscription of Raja Raja I referred to previously[5] we find that one Pennorbhaganana Hridayaśiva was one of the recepients of grant for singing *tiruppadiyam.* Peṇṇōrbhāgan surely is the literal translation of ardhanari. This term is also referred to as *Umaiyōrbhāgan* as 'Tirumaṇi kiḻār Devan Umaiyōrbhāgan' in an inscription of Vira Chola found engraved in the *ardhamaṇḍapa* of Umapatīśvara temple at Sattanur, Pudukkottai district.[6]

The Sanskrit portion of an epigraph on a slab in the first *prakara* of Tiruttalisavara temple at Tirupattur, Ramanathapuram district mentions the Lord Sristhalisa as Tiruttaḷiperumāḍigaḷ, which is again an exact rendering of the name in Sanskrit. The record is dated in the 10th regnal year of the Pandyan king Maranjhadayan.[7] The presiding deity in the Vṣhṇu temple—Sundararajaperumal—at Ponnamaravati,

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Pudukkottai district has been literally rendered into Tamil as Aḷagapperumāḷ Viṇṇagarakoil, as evidenced by the inscription of Sundara Pandya in his 13th regnal year.[8] Likewise the lord of Svayamprakesesvara temple at Sivapuri in the Ramanathapuram district is mentioned in a record of Jatavarman Srivallabha as '*Tiruttāntonriyāndār*.[9] Pushpavanesvara, the presiding deity of the temple at Tiruppūvanam, Tirunelveli district is rendered as 'Tiruppūvanamuḍaya mahādevar Pushpavana being equal to Tiruppūvana.[10]

Be these as they may, by far the best Tamil form is one that of Nataraja which we find in one of the inscriptions of that great Chola monarch who conceived and executed the gigantic temple at Thanjavur. The inscription is to be found on a niche in the Rajarajesva a temple dated in the 29th year of the king recording the donation of a bronze image called "*Āḍavallān*" by the queen Cholamahadevi. The inscription describes the image as trampling under its feet the *muyalagan*, and having four hands, nine strands of *Jaṭā*, seven strands of *hāra* (standing) on *Padmapīṭha* and enclosed by a *prabhāvalī*. To go alongwith this was also presented an image of Umaparamesvari. Besides several ornaments were also donated.[11] The description of image fits finely with Nataraja and the term *Āḍavallān* in Tamil means one who is adept or par excellence in dancing. Who else can this mean but Nataraja ? Nataraja has also been rendered as *Kūttāḍum devar* (dancing god)[12]. *Eḍuttapāda*[13] (uplifted leg) *pichchan.*

Miscellaneous terms :

Several examples can be cited but to be brief only a select would suffice to prove our point. To enumerate *vāsarmmeykkāppār*[14] would be *dvārapāla Tirumuḍi*[15], is *kīrīta*, *Śripāda* is translated as *tiruvaḍi*[16] *Tiruporppū*[17] would be equivalent to *Svarnapushpa Śrihasta* is *Tirukkai*, *Pratima*[18] is donated by *Tirumēni*, *Bhumī*[20] by *nilam*, *Davala*[21] *chattra veṇmadiporkudai*, *Shaṇmata* by *aruvagaisamayam*,[22] *Simhāsana* into *Ariyāsanam*[23]. In the *prasastis* (Tam. *meykīrti*) also we observe the process of Tamilization, *Tirumagaḷ*[24] and *Pūmagaḷ*[25] represent Sri or Lakshmi. Bhudevi has been indicated by the terms *nilamagal, nilappāvai nilamadandai* etc.[26] Jayalakshmi is *Jayamadandai*, *Jayappāvai*, *Jayamagal*,[27] etc. Further it is a common usage in inscription to mention *śilālēkhai Seydukoduttōm*, *Kallilveṭṭikkoḍuttōm*, etc. where the first-half of the term is Sanskrit while the latter is the translated version.

Conclusion :

Thus it will be seen that the trend in replacing either through literal translation or by using a term conveying the near connotation of Sanskrit words had already set in Tamil by the 9th-10th centuries or earlier even. In fact Tolkappiar in his grammatical work had advocated the invariable use of Tamil word albeit the exception where such terms have become[28] currently vogue and replacement may not be appropriate. Hence the modern practice of translating personal names like Somasundaram into Madiaḷagan, etc., is but an upsurge of the dormant urge to Tamilize Sanskrit words.

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Notes and References

1. *South Indian Inscriptions* (abbreviated *SII*) Vol. 2, pt. 3, No. 65.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 68.
3. *Inscriptions* (*Texts*) *of the Pudukkottai State*, *Pudukkottai* (1929), No. 190.
4. *SII*, Vol. 2, pt. 3, No. 68.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 65.
6. *Pudukkottai*, *op. cit.*, No. 167.
7. *SII*, XIV, No. 9.
8. *Pudukkottai*, *op. cit.*, No. 29.
9. *SII*, XIV, No. 201.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 240.
11. *SII*, Vol. 2, pt. 2, No. 42.
12. *Pudukkottai*, *op. cit.*, No. 173.
13. *SII*, Vol. 2, pt. 3, No. 65.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol 1, pt. 1, No. 8.
15. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *SII*, Vol 2, No. 38.
19. *Ibid.*, also No. 43.
20. *SII*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 61 & 65.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, PLI, No . 1, also *Pudukkottai. op. cit.*, No. 180.
22. *Pudukkottai*, *op. cit.*, No. 290.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 366.
24. *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 230.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2. pt. 3, No. 68.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *SII*, XIV, No. 230.
28. *SII*, 2, 1, No. 1 and *SII*, 2, 3, No. 68.

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20

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVA PERIOD : A STUDY

R. ANANDASIVAM*
AND
K.K. RAMAMURTHY**

The second quarter of the ninth century A.D. was marked by certain important political developments in the Pallava kingdom during the reign of Pallava Dantivarman (*c.* A.D. 796-846), son of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. There can be seen a noticeable gap in the records of the reign of this ruler. No inscription of his, after his twenty-first regnal year and prior to the forty-ninth year, has been brought to light so far. It was once believed that Dantivarman lost his authority over a considerable portion of his kingdom during these years, possibly because of Pāṇḍya incursions into it. It has been shown recently that one Śrīkaṇṭha Chōḷa of the Pottappi line, a close relative of the Pāṇḍyas, "interfered in Pallava politics and possibly after its conquest established a minor Pallava as feudatory."[1]

The present attempt is calculated to throw some light on the history of the Pallavas during this 'dark period', mainly from three inscriptions which come from the heart of the Pallava kingdom. They not only belong to the period under study, but also have some bearing on the contemporary political developments in the Pallava kingdom.

The first is a Tamil inscription from the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, Kanchipuram[2] which records the gift of a *balittālam* (bowl for holding the sacred offerings) and a *paḍimam* (image), for both of which one thousand *pon* were gifted to the god of the temple of Paramēśvara—Viṇṇagaram (present Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple) by Abhimāna Śiddhi *alias* Pallavan. This inscription is found engraved on the tiers of the central shrine of the temple along with a record of Pallava Dantivarman, dated in his seventeenth regnal year[3] and a Sanskrit inscription of a certain Guṇabhūshaṇa.[4] All the three inscriptions are "incised in the same script, probably by the same hand."[5]

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As such, they including the record under discussion, are assigned to the times of Pallava Dantivarman on palaeographical grounds.

Another record, a rock inscription from Tandalam (Arkonam Taluk, North Arcot District) is dated in the tenth regnal year of a ruler named Kāḍavarkōn Śatti who is also called Pallavamārāyan.[6] The epigraph which is in Tamil verse states that "Pallavamārāyan of enduring fame who is respected by all the inhabitants of the world, having freed (the villagers) of hunger, caused to be built also a stone sluice for the tank at Taṇḍalam in Poḷiyūrnāḍu."[7] The inscription has been ascribed to the ninth century A.D.

The third inscription, which is also in Tamil, comes from the village of Sumangali[8] (Cheyyar Taluk, North Arcot District). It is dated in the seventh year of the reign of one Kādupaṭṭi and mentions that one Kaṭṭāyakan, son of Ottūran, the headman of Kommai constructed the (Śiva) temple and presented lands for its upkeep. The text of the inscription has not yet been published and the record has been assigned to the ninth century A.D.

Obviously all the three records as said earlier, come from the heart of the Pallava country, i.e., the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam area and are assignable to more or less the same period, i.e., the ninth century A.D. Abhimāna, Śatti and Kāḍupaṭṭi are clearly stated in their respective records to be of the Pallava family. Considering these, as also the absence of imperial Pallava inscriptions during the period, it is not improbable to conclude that these three rulers, who claimed to be Pallavas, were all contemporaries and flourished during the time of Pallava Dantivarman.

These names, except the name *Kāḍupaṭṭi* which seems to be the title of the Pallavas, are not found in the regular Pallava genealogy of the period.[9] Nor is found any clue in their epigraphs or those of their contemporaries which would establish their respective identity. T.V. Mahalingam who has studied the inscription of Abhimāna Śiddhi has taken the ruler to be a member of a junior branch of the Pallavas. He says "Abhimāna who seems certainly to be a Pallava from his inscription might have taken the suffix Śiddhi borne by the Telugu-Chōḍas as a token of his subordination to Śrīkaṇṭha."[10]

But with regard to the identity of Kāḍavarkōn Śatti *alias* Pallavamārāyan such a surmise is rather difficult. Interestingly we know that the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I had a queen called Danti-Śakti Viṭaṅki *alias* Lōkamahādēvi.[11] Probably she was a princes of a Pallava family, which during that time had only a lingering imperial tradition. The queen's name suggests the possibility that in an earlier period, in her family one Śakti-viṭaṅka (Śakti or Śatti) was preceded by one Danti. *Danti* was, fortunately, not a very common name among the rulers and chieftains of the Tamil country during the early period and we have only one Pallava name Danti (Dantivarman) in the ninth century A.D. His son Nandivarman was known as Danti-Nandi. Can it be suggested on this slender, but strikingly circumstantial evidence that Kāḍavarkōn Śatti was probably a hitherto unknown son of Pallava Dantivarman ?

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Regarding the identification of Kāḍupaṭṭi of the Sumangali record, it has been suggested that "it is possible, he was connected with the family of Kāḍuveṭṭi Muttaraśa and his son Ariganda who figure as feudatories in the records of Dantivarman and Nripatunga".[12] But it is more likely that Kāḍupaṭṭi himself was a member of the Pallava family.

In the present state of our knowledge, it cannot be ascertained what the exact relationship that existed among these three rulers was and whether they were in league or not. It is evident from the absence of inscriptions of Dantivarman and the presence of these rulers with records in their independent capacities that the shake in the Pellava authority was exploited by these rulers who were probably the less known members of the Pallava family itself. One can presumably think of some foreign hand in these developments; but to what extent, we do not know at present. It seems Abhimāna, Śatti and Kāḍupaṭṭi established pockets of independent principalities on the wake of Dantivarman's temporary loss of control over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam either on their own accord or with some foreign support and help. But their ambitious rule did not last long.

The Velurpalaiyam plates[13] of Nandivarman III (*c.* A.D. 846-869), son and successor of Dantivarman state that the king "puffed up with the prowess of his arms acquired the prosperity of the (Pallava) kingdom not easy for others to obtain by killing (his) enemies on the battlefield". The *praśasti* does not mention the names of the enemies from whom the king wrestled his ancestral kingdom or at least portions of it at the outset. It is not difficult to infer that the rulers Abhimāna, Śatti and Kāḍupaṭṭi who flourished during the '*interregnum*' should have been among the enemies of Nandivarman III who attempted to revive the lost Pallava glory and prestige.

In this connection, one's attention may be drawn to a verse in the *Nandikkalambakam*.[14] This Tamil work has been generally considered to be a reliable quasi-historical poem praising the achievements of a king named Nadi, 'the victor of Teḷḷāru', identifiable with Pallava Nandivarman III. The verse extolls Nandi as "the great hero who conquered (the land) so as to destroy the *Kulavīrar* (*kulavīrar-agamaliya*) and thwart the contrivances of his younger brothers (*tambiyar*). The term *Kulavīrar* appears to be similar to the term *kulamallar* (translated as family potentates) which occur in the famous Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple label inscriptions narrating the events leading to the selection and coronation of Nandivarman II.[15] From the events recorded in the above labels it may be gleaned that the *kullamallar* were probably the members of the royal family of the Pallavas related closely to the reigning king, of pure descent and as good as the king in administration. They were apparently associated with the court functioning if not with direct administration of the kingdom. It is not unlikely that the *Kulavīrar* mentioned in the above verse and the *kulamallar* mentioned in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple labels refer to the important members of the Pallava royal family. The verse under discussion also states that in addition to the *kulavīrar, tambiyar* (younger brothers) were also against

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Nandivarman III. That Nandivarman III had fights with the junior members of his family, some of whom stood as brothers, distant or near in relation to him, would go well with the pieces of information available. A consideration of these suggests that Abhimānaśiddhi *alias* Pallavan, Kāḍavarkōn Śatti *alias* Pallavamārāyan, and Kāḍupaṭṭi were probably among the 'enemies' mentioned in the Velurpalaiyam *praśasti* and the *kulavīrar* and *tambiyar* mentioned in the *Nandikkalambakam*.

Thus a study of the above three inscriptions, along with other pieces of evidence available for the reign of Nandivarman III would show that when Pallava Dantivarman lost control over the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam area temporarily some time during or after his twenty-first regnal year, some Pallava scions of whom we get references of three viz., Abhimāna, Śatti and Kāḍupaṭṭi, exploited the opportunity to carve out independent, but short-lived principalities of their own with or without external help but only to be overcome by Nandivarman III at the fag end of his father's reign. It is clear that the reign of Dantivarman witnessed a phase of the declining fortunes of the Pallavas marked by internal dissentions and division of kingdom among the princes. Though Nandivarman III was able to revive the Pallava glory and keep intact the kingdom under his control, his sons Nripatungavarman and Kampavarman measured swords with each other paving the way for the disintegration and downfall of the Pallava kingdom, as gleaned from the recently discovered Tiruttani plates of Aparājitavarman.[16]

Notes and References

1. T.V. Mahalingam, 'An Interregnum in Pallava History', *Journal of Indian History* (*JIH*), xli, part i, pp. 287-303. See also *Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History* (*KESIH*) by the same scholar under Dantivarman.
   The Dalavaypuram plates of Pāṇḍya Vīranārāyana, through which the above Śrīkaṇṭha has become better known to history, state that Śrīkaṇṭha was a nephew (sister's son) of Pāṇḍya Māravarman and gave his daughter Aggaḷanimmaḍi in marriage to Pāṇḍya Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha. The son born through this marriage was Parāntada Vīranārāyana, the younger brother of Varaguna II, and the issuer of Dalavaypuram plates mentioned above (*See Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1962-65, pp. 1ff.
2. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARE*), 1888, No. 43; *South Indian Inscriptions* (*SII*), iv, No. 131.
3. *ARE*, 1888, No. 34; *SII*, iv, No. 132.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 32; *SII*, iv, No. 130.
5. This Sanskrit inscription registers some gift to (the temple of) Parameśvara Vishṇugriha by the King Guṇabhūshaṇa. The verse also states that it was composed by one Manodhīra. Professor T.V. Mahalingam considers this epigraph as referring to the 'same transaction viz., the gift of some gold to the temple by a Pallava named Abhimāna Śiddhi' (See *JIH*, xli, part i, p. 189).
   The composer of this verse Manōdhīra may be identified with Maheśvara Manōdhīra who composed the *praśasti* of the Velurpalaiyam plates of Nandivarman III (*SII*, ii, Part v, No. 98).
6. See the plates facing page 8 of the *SII*, iv; *JIH*, xli, Part i, p. 287.
7. *ARE*, 1892, No. 1; *Epigraphia Indica* (*EI*), vii, No. 5, pp. 25-6.

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7. Śatti of this record is stated to have free the villagers of hunger. It seems there was a famine during the middle of the ninth century A.D. The *Nandikkalambakam* assignable to this period informs that its hero Nandi (Nandivarman III) removed the horrors of a famine (*sinakkali*). (See *Nandikkalambakam* (Tamil) published by the South India Siva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevely Limited, Madras, v. 15. The numbering of verses followed here is as found in the above book).
   In this connection an inscription assignable to the ninth century A.D. from Sirudavur (Chingleput District) may be referred to. It mentions Śatti (Saṭṭi. 1) Viṇṇagaram (*ARE*, 1933-34, No. 87).
8. *ARE*, 1939-40, No. 127.
9. See for a discussion on the term *Kāḍureṭṭi-Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* (Revised edition of 1977), pp. 361, 62.
10. T.V. Mahalingam, *KESIH*, p. 194.
11. *ARE*, 1894, Nos. 219, 220 and 222; *ibid.*, 1902, No. 633; Also *The Cōlas* (Second Edition), pp. 186 and 575.
12. *Ibid.*, 1939-40, part ii, para 7, p. 230.
13. *SII*, ii, part v, No. 98, verse 20; *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil) by T.N. Subrahmanyam: pp. 248-62.
14. *Kombuyarvāmai-nāgam edirvanda*
    Nandi Kulavīrar Agam aliyat
    tambiyar eṇṇam ellām paludāga
    Venra talaimāna vīratuvaśan
    (*Nandikkalambakam*, v. 86)
15. *ARE*, 1888, No. 37; *SII*, iv, No. 135; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 63, appendix i, pp. 54-55 (Section C, line 1).
    It is generally admitted that certain Pallava administrative terms largely resemble those of their Gupta counterparts. Interestingly *Kulaputras* are mentioned in the Gupta and Vākāṭaka records. It seems they were men of noble birth, living with the princes as members of the rayal household, holding responsible posts in the army and in the general administrative set up of the kingdom (see D.K. Gupta, *Society and Culture in the Time of Dandin*, pp. 157-8).
16. R. Nagaswamy; *Thiruttani and Velanjeri copper plates* (Madras, 1979).

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CHAMPĀWAT COPPER PLATE OF KING KALYĀNA CHANDRA*

M.P. JOSHI**

The present copper plate of king Kalyāṇa Chandra of the Chandra dynasty of Kumaon, U.P. hills, was discovered at Champāwat (district Pithoragarh, U.P.). Measuring approximately 25 cms in length and 30 cms in width, it is scribed on only one side with 70 cm as the average size of letters. As usual with the later Chandra copper plates, it is carved with scroll and dagger-mark and no seal is affixed[1]. The language of the charter is Kumāonī and the script is *Nāgari*. Occasionally Sanskrit words have also been used.

There is a close resemblance between the following forms—*ch*, *v* and *b*; occasionally *ī* and *hi*; *r* and *t*; and *dh* and *gh*. Letters *v* and *y* are sometimes distinguished from respectively *b* and *j* by putting a circle between the curved part of the letter concerned otherwise there is no difference between *v* and *b*, and *y* and *j*. Letter *sh* has been invariably substituted for *kh*. Vowel *ī* is shown by adding medial *ī* sign to the initial *i*. *Anusvāra* is denoted by a single circle above the letter to which it belongs. Letters *a*, *k* and *j* are written in two forms each. It is interesting to note that no punctuation marks have been used. Spelling mistakes as also orthographical ones are frequent.

The copper plate under study is one of the very important hitherto unknown documents of Kumāonī history and hence deserves proper attention of the scholars.

The plate records the award of a *rota* (fully tax-free, almost independent of any State interference) kind of village named Dhyānapura in the *parganā* of Bagasī (situated between Champāwat and Sālam) by *Māhārājādhirāja Śrī Rājā* Kalyāṇa-chandra Deva to Anūpasiṁha Taḍāgī on the 13th day of the bright half of Agahana (i.e., Agrahāyaṇa or Mārgaśīrsha) in 1667 of the Śaka era, corresponding to

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A.D. 1745. The charter also gives a fairly long list of various influencial persons of Kumaon as the witnesses of the grant. The charter has been issued from Rājapura (i.e., Almora). The writer of its text is Rāmabhadra Jośī and the scribe is Rāīsīṁha Sudāra.

Extolling the patriotic deeds of Anūpasiṁha Taḍāgī the charter explicitly says as to how he defended Kumaon against the Rohillā attack by spending his own money on defence operations as also cautioned all the Kumāoni people against the impending danger. It is repeatedly mentioned in a post script that he did not let any native of Kumaon ally the Rohillās and that he remained extremely loyal to the cause of the Crown. It was for this reason that he was awarded the *rota*-village.

As may be seen, the copper plate under study does not mention the regnal year of Kalyāṇa Chandra, but on the basis of *vaṁśāvalīs* of the Chandra dynasty Atkinson has assigned him a reign of eighteen years from A.D. 1730 to 1747.[2] The Rohillā[3] invasion of Kumaon took place in A.D. 1743-44, causing mass scale destruction of temples and sculptures due to their inconoclastic activities.[4] It is said that at that time, as it were, the Marāṭhās and the later Mughals were struggling hard for political supremacy, and out of their fear the Rohillās wanted to colonise Kumaon so as to make it a permanent place of refuge in the event they were to be driven away from the Rohilkhaṇḍ.[5] It is also to be noted in this connection that the Rohillā chief Alī Muhammad Khān wanted to avenge the death of his patron Dāud Khān who was earlier murdered by Kalyāṇa Chandra's predecessor king Devī Chandra (A.D. 1720-1726). Soon he found an opportunity when, during the oppressive rule of king Kalyāṇa Chandra, many influential Kumāonī chieftains fled away from Kumaon. One such person Himmat Gosāīn took refuge in the camp of Alī Muhammad Khān where he was murdered together with his family by the assassins "despatched" by king Kalyāṇa Chandra.[6] The Rohillā chief Alī Muhammad Khān "was enraged at the murder of a guest within his own camp and in A.D. 1743-44, he sent a force of ten thousand men under the command of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, Paindā Khān and Bakshi Sirdār Khān" to punish the Kumaonī king.[7] With this intention the Rohillās invaded Kumaon and occupied nearly the whole of it.[8] It is during this period that the donee of this copper plate played a gallant role and helped his Master in liberating his country from the yoke of Rohillā suzerainty. It was indeed a great feat that the grateful king has acknowledged in this copper plate by mentioning it repeatedly. We are fortunate to have discovered this very important document of Kumāonī history but for which no body would have ever known about Anūpasiṁha Taḍāgī.

Text

Śrī Gaṇeśāyanu (I)

1. Mahārājādhirāja Śrīrājā Kalyānachaṁdrabahāduradeb* a jyule tamāpatra karī dīnu(I)

*Note the use of *b* in place of *v*.

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2. Anupasīṁga Taḍāgī jogya Bagasī kā parīgana mai mau Dhyānapura gāū bagaso (I) dhorā meḍā su
3. dhä pāyo (I) Anupasīga le apālaga hamaro saṁga kara chhyau (,) rājaghāu kara chhyau (I) jai dīna Rohīlo
4. paravata āchhyo tai dīna baḍo sāb*adhāna karo (I) mānasa Rohīla nai mīlana dīyā (I) saba pārai garashāna su
5. pātīpatrī leshīna (,) saba ṭhaura sāb*adhāna karā (I) apanā ghara kā rupaiyā lāī bera hamarā nīmītya sabaṭhau
6. ra bolīyā lāyā (I) gaḍasaba Kumaiyā hama pai gaḍa lāyā (I) tai rota ko gāū bagaso (I) dhīgara Rotajana mānasana
7. le gāū jyulā le ghāsaulagaīnale sāb*adhāna karo (I) tai le shā (I) sarva kara akara karī bera basharīyā ba
8. janīyā nāṭha naṭhālī saba sudhā pāyo (I) Śrī Kalyānchaṁdra jyu ki saṁtati le shav**āūnu Anupasīga Taḍā
9. gī kī saṁtatī le shānu (I) kai rājā le nī haranu (I) sev**āchākarī karanī (I) rājaghāū karanu gāū shānu (I) jo rajā gā
10. ū hara tai saugaṁda chhanna (I) sāchhī Śrī Mahārājakumāra Śrī Dīpachaṁdra Gusāī jyu (,) Śrī Krīshnasīṁgha Lalā jyu (,)
11. Lachhīmīsīṁgha (,) Harīsīṁga Gusāī (,) Bagasī Sīb*adeb*a Joīsī (,) Dev**āna Anupasīga Adhīkārī (,) Harīrāma (,)
12. Rudradeb*a (,) Ramākāta (,) Sīb*adeb*a (,) Kīshnadeb*a Joīsī (,) Lālamanī Chaudharī (,) Bhav**ānaṇda (,) Jasodhara Bhaṁ
13. ḍārī (,) Harasīga Sejav**ālī (,) Lachhīmana (,) Rashīpāla Taḍāgī (,) Lachhimana (,) Arajuna Chaudharī (,) Syā
14. majaibama Kārakī (,) Rāimala (,) Jasaita Bora (,) Amarasiṁga Phuḍātyāla (,) Sāla Maharā (I) Sāke
15. 1667 Agahana sudī 13 Chaṁdre (I) līshītaṁ Rāmabhadra Josī (,) māraphata Sīb*adeb*a
16. Bīsṭa (,) Kumāū ko sīkadāra Paravā Nagi (,) mukāma Rāja
17. pura (I) kaṁārītam Rāīsīṁga sudāra (I)

(on the left margin towards right side) (on the top right)

1. Baḍo rājaghāū karo (I) Rohelāī
2. maisānasa koī nī mīlana dī
3. yā (I) apa

(continued on the left margin)

**Note *v* as distinguished from *b* by putting a circle below the curved part of the character *b*.

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4. nā ghara kā rupaiyā
5. dī bera Rohelā saga laḍāī karī (I)
6. Tai rota ko gāū bagaso (I) yo gā
7. ū shāno (,) rājaghāū karano (I) yo gāū jo
8. ko rajā Kumāū mai ho tai le nī
9. līno (I) apanī māī baina hārī bhāra b*e
10. ayānī (I)

Translation : Since many of the terms used in the text of the plate are no more in currency, we have attempted at a free translation of the text.

(We) follow Śrī Gaṇeśa I

Mahārājādhirāja Śrīrājā Kalyāṇachandradeva (having) made the copper plate (charter) gave (it to the donee). (Through this charter) Anūpasiṁha, the deserving, was endowed the village of Dhyānapura in the *parganāh* of Bagasī. (The endowment of the above village) included ridge (together with) fencing. Anūpasiṁha sided us (i.e., the donar) immensely (and) remained loyal to (the cause of) the Crown. During those days when the Rohillās came to the hills (Anūpasiṁha) cautioned (the people). (He) did not let the people ally the Rohillās*. (He) wrote letters to the fortified villages all around (and) cautioned (people) everywhere. (After) having brought his own money for our (i.e., King's) shake (Anūpasiṁha) employed labourers everywhere (and made) all the troopers of Kumaon bring troop to us (i.e., the donar). Hence the *rota*-village was endowed. (Anūpasiṁha) cautioned the people, secluded from the society living in interior, the Rota-tribesmen, villages (and the land unit called) *jyulā* (and) even grass-blades**. Hence (he is endowed in order to) enjoy. (He) received (the village-grant) after exempting it from all taxes (together with the obligations related to) eulogisers, drummers (and) property left by issueless persons (living in the village in question). The progeny of Śrī Kalyāṇchandra will let enjoy (and) the progeny of Anūpasiṁha will continue enjoying (the grant). No (future) king will ever confiscate it. (The grantee and his descendants will keep on) rendering services, remaining loyal to (the cause of) the Crown (and continue) enjoying the (grant of) village. Whosoever king confiscates the (grant of) village shall invite imprecations upon himself. The witnesses (of this charter) are *Śrī Mahārājakumāra Śrī* Dīpa Chandra *Gusāīn*, *Śrī* Kṛishṇasiṁha *Lalā*, Lachhimīsiṁha, Harisiṁha *Gusāīn*, *Bagasi* Śivadeva Jośī,, *Divāna* Anūpasiṁha Adhikāri, Harirāma, Rudradeva, Ramākānta, Śivadeva,

*Alternately it may mean "he did not let the people confront the Rohillās". However, taking into account the internal dissension in the Chandra court the meaning given in the main body of the translation appears to be correct.

**Alternately it may mean "he cautioned even those persons who had gone to collect the grass".

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Kṛishṇadeva Jośī, Lālamaṇi Chaudharī, Bhavānanda, Jasodhara Bhaṇḍārī, Harasiṁha Sejavālī, Lachhimana, Ṛishipāla Taḍagī, Lachhimana, Arjuna Chaudhari, Śyāmajaibama Kārkī, Rāīmala, Jasauta Borā, Amarasiṁha Phaḍtyāla, Śāla Maharā. (The charter has been issued) on Monday, the 13th of the bright half (of the month) of Agrahāyaṇa in 1667 of the Śaka era. It has been written by Rāmabhadra Jośī (and is being conferred) through Śivadeva Bishṭa (and) the *Sikadāra* of Kumaon, Parava Negī. (It has been issued from) the residence (of the donar) at Rājapura (and) scribed by Rāīsiṁha Sudāra.

(On the top right and left margin)

(Anūpasiṁha) remained extremely loyal to the (cause of the) Crown (and) did not let any (Kumāonī) people ally the Rohillās. Having spent his own money (on military operations) he fought with the Rohillās. Hence the *rota*-village was awarded (to him). (Anūpasiṁha) is advised to enjoy (the grant of this) village (and) remain loyal to the Crown. Whosoever (would be) the king in Kumaon ought not to confiscate (the grant of) this village lest that ignorant fellow should bring the nemesis of having promiscuous relations with his mother and sister***.

***I owe the interpretation of this last sentence to Dr. Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, Reader in A.I. History & Archaeology, Lucknow University. However, my own interpretation of this sentence is as follows : "Whosoever (would) be the king in Kumaon ought not to confiscate (the grant of) this village lest that ignorant fellow should bring the nemesis of losing mother and sister (as though in gambling).

Notes and References

1. The dagger-mark appears for the first time in the last known plate of king Bhishma Chandra dated in Śaka 1452 which was discovered by the author.
2. Atkinson, E.T., *The Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. II, part ii, p. 584; (Reprinted, Cosmo Publications, Delhi-6, India, 1973).
3. For the rise of the Rohillās see William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, pp. 117 ff. (Reprinted—1971).
4. Atkinson, E.T., *op. cit.*, p. 587.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 588.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 586.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 586 ff.

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22

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUVANAIKKA

C.R. Srinivasan*

The growth and development of Śaivism is of absorbing interest to the student of religious history of Tamil Nadu. Thanks to the relentless efforts of religious savants and saints, Śaivism took deep roots in the 9th century itself. But during the 12th and 13th centuries it reached its zenith, teeming with more activities. Doctrinal differences led to the sectarian outlook and attitude and the result was the growth and establishment of *maṭhas* invariably in around the Śiva temples. The pontifical heads of these *maṭhas*, claiming descendency from the renowned religious preceptors or groups wielded considerable influence on the society and the temple. Autonomous and independent in character, these *maṭhas* had several branches in important centres of religious interest.

The present article aims to study the ancient Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar *maṭha* and its decline and fall on account of the advent and powerful influence of the *Śankara-maṭha*. The Epigraphical evidences[1] show that the *Nārpatteṇṇāyira-maṭha* had strong links with places like Tiruchcharrimurram, Jambaikuḍi, Āvaḍurai, Tiruvātpōkki, etc. The two inscriptions[2] under study are from the West Wall of the present *Śankarāchārya-maṭha* situated in the North Car Street at Tiruvānaikkāval, Tiruchirappalli district. It is unfortunate to observe that the two inscribed stones are now conspicuously missing due to human vandalism. Luckily, the Department of Epigraphy of the Archaeological Survey of India had copied these two inscriptions and the gist of them was reported in their Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1908. The inscriptions which belong to the reign of Tribhuvanach-chakra-vartigaḷ Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān do not contain the regnal years. The texts of these inscriptions are similar in character. They record the construction of the *maṭha* called Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar-*maṭha* by Āvuruḍaiyān Sōlakōn in the northern part of the *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam* of Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiyār and also the endowment of lands made in Uttamaśīlich-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Pāṇḍikulāśani-vaḷanāḍu for its upkeep and maintenance.

They refer to the reclamation of the gifted lands on the river-bed of Kāveri

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during the 16th regnal year[3] of Suṅgamtavirtta Chōḷa (i.e. Kulōttuṅga I) and naming it as Pasupatinallūr by bringing them into the revenue accounts (*variyiliḍu*) with the intention of feeding the ascetics who are the direct disciples of Namaśivāyadēvar of *Tiruñānasambandar-maṭha* situated on the eastern side of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam-uḍaiya-nāyanār in Tiruchcharrimudaiyar temple in Kīl-paḷaiyāru *alias* Rājarājapuram in Kulōttuṅgaśōla-vaḷanāḍu. In one of these two inscriptions it is stated that the lands were gifted in the 38th regnal year[4] as *maḍappuṛa-iṛaiyili* by Mīnavan Muvēndavēḷāṉ, the royal secretary of Kulōttuṅga I and the Variyilār and Varikkūṛuśeyvār were apprised of the gift for making necessary entries in the concerned revenue registers. The signatories of the document were Toṇḍaimān, Viliñattaraiyaṇ, Siṅgaḷattaraiyan, Chēdikularāyan, Vijayarāyan.

The titles *Tribhuvanachakravarti* and *Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān* were adopted indiscriminately by many Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings. Now we are confronted with the problem of identifying the kings of these records who bear the above titles. Similarly, Mīnavan Muvēndavēḷān, the royal secretary who communicates the royal order figures in most of the records of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1216). It is to be noted in this connection that an individual bearing the same name figures during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I also. The possibility of linking both the royal secretaries is ruled out on account of the long span of time that existed between the first and the second with identical names. The text of the inscription mentions Sungamtavirtta-Kulōttuṅgacholа which generally refers to Kulōttuṅga I the posthumous ruler in this case.

During the 16th and 38th regnal years of Kulōttuṅga I, we notice, that the ascetics of Tiruñanasambandar-maṭha were the recipients of the gift of cultivable wetlands on the banks of Kāveri. From internal and external evidences, it is evident that the titles Tribhuvanachakravartin and Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān of these two inscriptions refer to Kulōttuṅga III. These two inscriptions refer to the temple of Tiruchcharrimuḍaiyar, in Kīlpalaiyārai *alias* Rājarājapuram. Rājarājapuram is otherwise known in inscriptions as Dhārāsuram or Rārāsuram with its variants. Tiruchcharrimurram which is presently known as kīlpalaiyārai is a hamlet of Rājarājapuram[5].

As already stated, these two inscriptions refer to the construction of Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar-maṭha by Āvūruḍaiyān Sōḷakōṇ on the northern side of the Tiruvānaikkā temple. An inscription[6] from Tirupalātturai, Rājarāja dated in the 22nd regnal year mentions that the *maṭha* was an offshoot of *Nārppatteṇṇāyiravar-maṭha* and belonged to the lineage of the *santana* of Tirucharrimurrattumudaligal. The feeding of the ascetics, provision for the recitation of *ägamas* and supplying of drinking water to the inhabitants were the daily routine for which the gift was made to the *maṭha* under study. The inscriptions in which the reference is made to the *Nārppatteṇṇāyiravar-maṭha* were found in the premises of the present *Śaṅkara-maṭha*. It is curious to note that the two incribed stones are now missing.

The two copper plate[7] grants dated Śaka 1630 (A.D. 1708) and Śaka 1663 (A.D. 1741) respectively of Vēṅkaṭadēva mahārāya and Śrīraṅgarāya refer to the general benefactions made to the *Śaṅkara-maṭha* which was there from time immemorial

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(*ādiyāyuḷḷa*). Both the copper plates are at present in the possession of the *Śaṅkara-maṭha* of Kumbakonam. The first copper plate which is in Telugu, records in particular the gift of lands in different villages by Vijayaraṅga Chōkkanātha-nāyaka to the said *Śaṅkara-maṭha* located in the Poṇvāśikoṇḍān street in the Gajāraṇya-kshētra. The Gajāraṇya is nothing but Jambukēśvasam which is a sanskritised form for Tiruvānaikkā. The Epigraphists are of the opinion that the reading 'Poṇvāśikoṇḍa' admits the possibility of amendation of the text 'Poṇḍāśikoṇḍa' which coincides with the present local name of the street as Dēvadāsi street, wherein no other *maṭha* except the Śaṅkarāchārya-*maṭha* on the northern side of the Tiruvānaikkā temple is presently situated. The existence of *Nārppatteṇṇāyiravar-maṭha* in the same place is also attested by the provenance of the two inscriptions. It can be discerned that the *Nārppatteṇṇāyira-maṭha* of the lithic records and the *Śaṅkarāchārya-maṭha* of the copper plates are one and the same. The change might have taken place prior to the date of the copper plate. It is not known whether the change was gradual or forcible. From the name Nārppatteṇṇāyiravar, we may infer that the numerical strength of the adherents of the *maṭha* are numbering 48,000. We come across such references as *ashṭa-sahasram* or *eṇṇāyiram* in incriptions. It may not be possible to conclude that it was a brahmanical or non-brahmanical in character. Mention is made about a brahmanical *maṭha*, Tiruñānasambandar-maḍam in the inscriptions[8] from Tiruvānaikkā and Tiruppalātturai. The inscription from Tiruppalātturai refers to the *Tiruñānasambandar-maṭha* at Tiruvānaikkā as one which belonged to the Santāna of Tiruchcharrimurrattumudaliyār Marudirperumāḷ. There is another inscription which mentions *Nārppatteṇṇāyira-maṭha* of Tiruvānaikkā.

We do not have any reliable evidences to show that the ascetics of the *Nārppatteṇṇāyiravar-maṭha* were the descendants of Mudaliyār Marudirperumān of Tiruchattimurram. If the hypothesis that *Nārppatteṇṇāyira-maṭha* and Tiruñānasambandar are one and the same[9], it may be possible for us to conclude that the descendants of the former *maṭha* belonged to the lineage of Marudirperumāḷ[10] of Tirucnattimurram. From the available evidences, it is not possible to tell with certainity that the *Nārppatteṇṇāyira-maṭha* was forcibly exterminated or evicted or came to the fold of *Śaṅkarāchārya-maṭha* by merging itself, under their own volition.

Notes and References

1. *AR.E.P.*, 1925, Nos. 150, 158; 1914, No. 179; 1930, No. 60.
2. *Ibid.*, 1908, Nos. 486, 487.
3. Sungam tavirtta Kulōttunga Chōla devarkku patinārāvadu aḷavil ..... (lines 6-7).
4. *AR.E.P.*, 1908, No. 487.
5. *Ibid.*, 1913, Part II, para 40.
6. *Ibid.*, 1908, No. 586.
7. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Copper-plate inscriptions belonging to Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya of the Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha*, Madras, 1916, pp. 99-112 and plates; AR. Ep., 1914-15, No. A4.
8. *AR. Ep.*, 1908, No. 585.
9. *Ibid.*, 1908, Part II, para 53, pp. 103-04.
10. Dr. N. Rajamanikkam, *The Development of Śaivism in South India under the Pallavas of Kanchi and the Imperial Cholas*. Thesis of the Madras University, 1950, August, p. 125.

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23

TIRUVORRIYUR AS AN ECONOMIC ENTITY

S. SWAMINATHAN*

In the medieval South the temple was not only a place of worship, but also a powerful social and economic entity. The temple was the nerve centre of the society and the entire society revolved around the temple. Every aspect of the temple was inextricably interwoven with the society and as one wades through the numerous epigraphs one unmistakably gains the impression of the diverse secular and religious functions which the South Indian temples were ordained to execute.

The Ādipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras is one such temple. It has a long history though we do not know the origin or when the temple came into existence. But it rose to prominence during the period of the later Pallavas.

The temple was the seat of the radical Śaivite seats such as *Kāpalikas* and *Pāśupatas* and the rendezvous of persons who explained *Śiva-dharma* and *Sōma Siddhanta* and saints who sung the hymns on Him in great ecstasy.

The temple enjoyed the patronage of Pallavas, Chōḷas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Pāṇḍyas and Vijayanagara rulers. Here an attempt is made to study the economic implications of the various gifts and endowments that were made to the temple.

The numerous epigraphs engraved in the temple reveal that it received rich endowments and munificient gifts. Evidences reveal that land, gold, ornaments, articles of jewellery, food offerings, cattle etc., were donated. The donors include kings, queens, chiefs merchants, saints, *Māhēsvaras*, watch and ward, *dēvaraḍiyārs* etc. The popularity of the temple can be gleaned from the fact that numerous donations that were made by the people from far and near. People from the neighbouring villages like Ādambakkam, Igaṇaimūdūr, Kañjanūr, Eḷinūr in Puḷiyūrkōṭṭam and Puḷarkōṭṭam and remote areas like Kāsmīrpura in Āryadēsa all made gifts and rich endowments. In several cases the persons also donated lands to the temple, themselves remitted the taxes to be paid to the *Sabhā* thereby enabling the temple to enjoy the returns without any encumbrances.[1]

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The growth in the economic resources of the temple led to a corresponding increase in the number of persons whose services were required by it. The number of persons who were employed in the temple according to an epigraph was 139.[2] The temple had on its roll *Māhēśvaras*, *Dēvakarmis*, *maṭhādhipati*, *devaraḍiyārs*, *manrāḍis*, *Kōyirkaṇṇakku* etc.

The temple not only performed the mere function of receiving gifts from the devotees but also saw to it that suitable investments were made out of them (or proceeds realised from them) so as to ensure a good return in cash or kind for the uninterrupted performance of various religious services in the temple most of which were instituted by the donors themselves. The *Sabhā* invested the amount of donation or gift in some productive enterprise and the return or the interest which accrued as a result of the investment was utilised for the stipulated endowments. Sometimes the money was deposited with the residents of the village who in turn returned the interest in paddy to the temple and thereby fulfilled the obligations of the donors. An epigraph of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēśarivarman of this temple refers to the gift of 30 *kalañju* of gold for a lamp by a Chēra princess.[3] The amount was invested in a field at Tiruvorriyūr which yielded the annual interest 4½ *kalañju*, which was utilised for burning the lamp. We do not have any epigraph in Tiruvorriyūr saying how the assembly or the *Sabhā* fulfilled the obligations but normally they invested the amount on some productive enterprise which were mostly in agriculture. A record of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman from the village Paiyannūr of the adjacent Chingleput Taluk of the Chingleput district refers to an agreement made by the *gaṇa* of the village to remove annually the silt from the big tank of the village for the interest on 6,400 *kāḍi* of paddy.[4] Silting was done to improve the irrigational potentialities which in turn increased the produce from the field and the surplus of the produce enabled the assembly to pay interest in cash or kind to maintain those services in the temple which they were authorised. The temple was an important one in Toṇḍaimaṇḍlam which became an object of patronage among the Pallavas, Chōḷas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The temple had a large retinue of servants and employees on its roll and the number and magnificience of the various services depended upon a reliable stream of income which resulted from the profitable investment of endowed funds. Without which, it is doubtful whether the endowments to the temple could have reached the proportions as they did.[5] Hence, the growth of this temple was closely associated with, and dependant upon the programme of agricultural development and irrigational facilities in and around Tiruvorriyūr.

Gifts of money to the temple were deposited with the people of some villages who returned the interest in paddy. Merchants and the assemblies of villages in Puḷarkōṭṭam also received the donation and returned the interest in terms of paddy. Although it was not specifically recorded whether the gifted amount was invested on fields so as to enable them to pay interest in paddy, but as we noted earlier, normally such amount was invested only on fields, as agriculture was the mainstay of the medieval south Indian economy.

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List of gifts and donations made to the Tiruvorriyūr temple during the period of the Pallavas and the Chōḷas

Date	King (Pallavas)	Nature of donations	Rate of interest	Purpose of donation
1. 18th year	Vijaya Nripatuṅga	5 *kalañju* of gold	—	To provide offerings to the deity.
2. 7th year	Kampavarmaṇ	15 *kalañju* of gold	3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju*	To burn a lamp in the temple.
3. 9th year	-do-	30 *Kalañju* of gold	-do-	-do-
4. -do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
5. 19th year	-do-	20,000 *kuli* of land (exempted from the tax)	—	To maintain the temple of Nirañjanēśvara-mahādēva.
6. —.	-do-	27 *kalañju* of gold	3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju*	To provide offerings on *Saṅkaranthi* day.
7. 4th year	Aparājitavarmaṇ	30 *kalañju* of gold	-do-	To burn a perpetual lamp in the temple.
8. -do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
9. -do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
10. 6th year	-do-	60 *kalañju* of gold	-do-	-do-
11. 7th year	-do-	30 *kalañju* of gold	—	-do-
12. 8th year	-do-	60 *kalañju* of gold	3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju*	To burn a lamp and to provide offerings to the deity.
13. 12th year	-do-	Gift of land	—	To provide offerings to the deity.

Contd.

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Date	King (Cōḷas)	Nature of donations	Rate of interest	Purpose of donations
14. —	Parantaka	Gift of land	—	For the requirements of worship.
15. 7th year	-do-	30 *kalañju* of gold	3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju*	To burn a lamp in the temple.
16. 21st year	-do-	Two Īḷa lamps 360 sheep and a fly-whisk	-do-	To maintain two perpetual lamps in the temple.
17. 24th year	-do-	30 kaḷañju of gold	-do-	To maintain a lamp in the temple.
18. 26th year	-do-	90 sheep	—	-do-
19. 27th year	-do-	-do-	—	-do-
20. 29th year	-do-	30 *kalañju* of gold	3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju*	-do-
21. -do-	-do-	40 *kalañju* of gold	—	To feed a *Brāhmaṇa*.
22. 30th year	-do-	30 *kalañju* of gold	—	To maintain a lamp in the temple.
23. -do-	-do-	60 *kalañju* of gold	3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju*	To burn two lamps in the temple.
24. 34th year	-do-	Gift of a lamp	—	—
25. 35th year	-do-	50 *kalañju* of gold	—	To feed the *Mahāvratis*.
26. 38th year	-do-	Gift of land	—	—

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Date	*King(Rāshtrakūṭas)*	Nature of gifts	Rate of interest	Purpose of donation
27. 18th year	*Krishṇa III*	30 *kalañju* of gold	3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju*	To burn a lamp in the temple.
28. 19th year	-do-	90 sheep	—	-do-
29. 20th year	-do-	100 *Nishkas* of pure gold	—	To provide *bali* offerings.
30. 22nd year	-d0-	30 *kalañju* of gold	3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju*	To burn a perpetual lamp in the temple.

Date	King (Coḷas)	Nature of donations	Rate of interest	Purpose of donation
31. 5th year	Madiraikaṇda Rājakēsarivarman (Gaṇdarāditya)	90 sheep	—	To burn a perpetual lamp in the temple.
32. 15th year	Uttamacōḷa	Gift of an image eight bugles and 24 fly-whisks with gold handles.	—	—
33. 16th year	-do-	868 *kalañju* of *tuḷai niṛai* gold and 40 *kalañju* of gold	—	For a plate to be donated.
34. 3rd year	Rājarāja I	Gift of gold ornaments.	—	—
35. 6th year	-do-	32 cows	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
36. 17th year	-do-	12 buffaloes	—	-do-
37. -do-	-do-	Gold	—	To feed a *Brāhmaṇa* in the temple.

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Date	King (Coḷas)	Nature of gifts	Rate of interest	Purpose of donation
38. 3rd year	Rājendra	90 sheep	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
39. 8th year	-do-	-do-	—	-do-
40. 26th year	-do-	Gift of land	—	To maintain 12 dancing girls in the temple.
41. 29th year	-do-	Gift of money	in terms of paddy	To provide offerings on the festival day.
42. -do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	For celebrating the festival of *Mārgaḷi* in the temple.
43. -do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	To feed a *Brāhmaṇa*
44. 30th year	-do-	Gift of 4000 *kuḷi* of land	—	To maintain flower garden in the temple.
45. -do-	-do-	Sale of land (2000 *kuḷi*) to an individual by the *Sabhā*	—	To provide offerings to the deity.
46. -do-	-do-	90 sheep	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
47. -do-	-do-	-do-	—	-do-
48. 31st year	-do-	150 *kāśu*	—	To measure 300 *nāḷi* of ghee on *Mārgli-tiruvadiran* for offerings.
49. 1st year	Rājādhirāja	Sale of land to Āriyavammai by the residents of Vēshārupāḍi	—	To feed the *Māhēśvaras.*
50. 6th year	-do-	32 cows	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.

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51. 22nd year	-do-	10 *kāśu*	—	To provide a bundle of grass to the cow in the temple.
52. 28th year	-do-	Sale of land by the assemblies of Sundarasōḻa chaturvēdi maṅgalam and Vaṇavaṇmadēvi chaturvedimaṅgalam.	—	To provide offerings to the deity.
53. -do-	-do-	Gift of money in 30 *kāśu*	in terms of paddy in 75 *kalams* of paddy.	To celebrate the festival of *puṅgumi uttiram*
54. 29th year	-do-	Gift of paddy	—	To provide offerings to the deity in the temple.
55. 31st year	-do-	95 sheep	—	To burn a perpetual lamp in the temple.
56. 33rd year	-do-	5 *vēli* of land, by Ariyammai	—	To maintain a *maṭha* built by her.
57. -do-	-do-	150 *kāśu*	—	To buy 100 cows and supply 300 *nāḻi* on the day of *tiruvadirai*
58. 33rd year	-do-	92 sheep	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
59. 2nd year	Vīrarājendra	Apportionment of money by weaver merchants.	—	For special offerings in the temple.
60. 4th year	-do-	Sale of land by the residents of Elinuḻai, a village in Paiyyūr kūrram to an individual.	—	For *maḍapuradēvadana* to the temple.

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Date	King (Coḷas)	Nature of gifts	Rate of interest	Purpose of donation
61. 6th year	Vīrarājendra	Sale of 4000 *kuli* land by the *Peruṅguri Mahasabhā* of Singavishnu chaturvēdimaṅgalam to an individual.	—	For maintaining a garden in the temple.
62. —	-do-	The king ordered the reclamation of land.	—	The produce to be utilised for temple.
63. 2nd year	Kulōttuṅga I	Gift of land	—	To conduct services in the temple.
64. 7th year	-do-	Gift of 120 *kāśu*	—	To conduct a service in the temple.
65. -do-	-do-	Sale of 2000 *kui* of land by the residents of Igaṇaiyūr to an individual.	—	To maintain a water-shed in the temple.
66. 10th year	-do-	90 sheep by four persons.	—	To measure out 90 *nāi* of ghee to burn a lamp.
67. —	-do-	Sale of 2 *veli* of land by the Peruṅguri Mahā Sabha of Sundarachōla chaturvēdi-maṅgalam land was exempted from taxes.	—	To provide food offerings to the deity.
68. —	-do-	12 milch cows	—	For *Pañchagavya* and for burning two lamps.
69. 18th year	-do-	90 sheep	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
70. 30th year	-do-	a lamp	—	—
71. -do-	-do-	90 sheep	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.

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72. 33rd year	*-do-*	*-do-*	—	-do-
73. 37th year	*-do-*	*-do-*	—	-do-
74. -do-	*-do-*	Sale of land by an individual to the assembly of Maṇali.	—	To conduct a festival in the temple.
75. 49th year	-do-	Gift of land in Paiyyūr koṭṭam.	—	To feed 50 devotees in the *maṭha* situated in the temple.
76. 4th year	Kulōttuṅga II	Sale of 859-3/4 *kuli* of land by the assembly of Punnaivayil to an individual who made a gift to the temple.	—	To burn 24 perpetual lamps.
77. 3rd year	Rājadhirāja II	Gift of 90 sheep	—	To burn a lamp.
78. 4th year	-do-	Gift of 12 buffaloes	—	-do-
79. -do-	-do-	Gift of 32 cows	—	-do-
80. 6th year	-do-	-do-	—	-do-
81. 9th year	-do-	-do-	—	-do-
82. 6th year	Kulōttuṅga III	Gift of money	—	To conduct a festival in the temple.
83. 9th year	-do-	Gift of 300 cows	—	To provide *pañchagavya* ghee and curd to the temple.
84. 11th year	-do-	Gift of 12 buffaloes	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
85. 19th year	-do-	The king ordered the waste lands to be leased out to some persons.	—	—

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Date	King (Coḷas)	Nature of interest	Rate of interest	Purpose of donation
86. 26th year	Kulōttuṅga	Gift of the village in Puliyūrkōṭṭam and gold ornaments.	—	To the deity.
87. 27th year	-do-	Gift of 120 *vēli* of land.	—	To maintain a special *sandhi* (service) in one temple.
88. 31st year	-do-	Gift of cow, a bull and a calf.	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
89. 38th Year	-do-	Gift of Kuḷattur and 86 *vēli*.	—	To maintain a *maṇḍapa* in one temple.
90. 3rd year	Rājarāja III	Gift of 32 cows	—	To burn a perpetual lamp in the temple.
91. 4th year	-do-	Gift of 17 buffaloes	—	-do-
92. 8th year	-do-	Gift of 12 *narppalaṁkāśu*	—	To provide offerings in *mārgaḷi* in the deity.
93. 9th year	-do-	Gift of village	—	To the god Vira Narashima Nāyanār.
94. 13th year	-do-	Gift of 90 cows , a ram and a lamp stand.	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
95. 21st year	-do-	Flower garland and offerings.	—	—
96. 26th year	-do-	32 cows, a bull and a lamp stand.	—	To burn a lamp in the temple.
97. 27th year	-do-	-do-	—	—

Abstract taken from the *A.R I.E.*, 1912.

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The state was also keen on improving the agricultural development and thereby increased the produce. Lands in devadāna village of Ādambakkam were reported to be lying waste for want of tenants. The king therefore ordered the lands either to be leased out or sold to the private parties after receiving the amount 120 *kāsu* as *kāṇivilai*.[6] In another case, some waste lands in Siṅghavishṇu chaturvēdi maṇgalam were reclaimed by the order of Vira Rājendra Chōḷa and its produce was utilised for services in the temple.[7]

These instances indicate the growing demand for resources compelled the concerned people to bring more land under cultivation resulting in the expansion of agricultural activities.

The donations and gifts to the temple were made either in gold or in land. In the period that followed upto the reign of Rājarāja I (985-1014) most of the endowments were made in gold. The rate of interest was 3 *mañjāḍi* per *kalañju* and the interest accrued for six months or a year was utilised for intended purposes. The persons from the temple who came to collect the interest from the *Sabha* also fed and the *Sabha* also agreed to pay *daṇḍam* or fine in case of default in paying the rate of interest.[8] All these go to prove the gift was profitably invested and the *Sabha* was scrupulous in discharging its duties.

The short study made here reveals how the religious atmosphere at the Tiruvorriyūr temple drew into vortex several types of people whose gifts in cash and kind generated a spirit of economic activities and that provided ample scope to the people to engage in gainful employment directly or indirectly related to the temple and thus create a self generating economy.

Notes and References

1. *A.R.I.E.*, 1911, No. 372.
2. *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 131.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 169.
4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 34.
5. Burton Stein, "Economic functions of a Medieval South Indian temple"; *Journa lof Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1960), p. 164.
6. *A.R.I.E.*, 1911, No. 371.
7. *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 128.
8. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 88.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE JAIN TEMPLES IN KERALA

M.R. Raghava Varier*

The Jaina Canonical texts of earlier periods do not prescribe temple building or idol worship as a prerequisite for the deliverance of soul. Probably the temple cult and the idolatry emerged in the Jaina order as a necessary consequence of the settled life of monks as well as the establishment of monasteries. These new developments, which were caused by liberal grants of land and money to Jaina monks by kings and chieftains of South India and also by private individuals, resulted in a new way of life and outlook of Jaina monks and preceptors. The involvement, direct or indirect, of Jaina monasteries in agricultural activities helped the Jaina religion to percolate into lower strata of the society and to extend its roots among the common folk on a large scale. As a result of this more and more people were attracted to the religion, which necessitated the assimilation of some of the practices and beliefs of the common people. Perhaps this reciprocal interrelationship between the monks and the laity must be the reason for the entry of new practices and customs into the Jaina order.

It has been pointed out that Samantabhadra, who perhaps belonged to the early century of the Christian era, was probably the earliest preceptor to lay down worship as a religious duty of laymen.[1] Following him the later *āchāryas* further developed the system of worship, introduced elaborate rituals and codified rules and regulations for temple worship.

Paumachariyā or Vimala Sūri, a Prākrit text, gives us some details about the worship of Jaina images and installation of idols and the *abhisheka* or bathing rituals.[2] The *Paramārthaprakāśa*, explicitly states that those who do not perform *aṣṭa-vidhānārchana*, the eight-fold worship of the Five Perfect Beings, i.e., *Arhat*, *Siddha*, *Āchārya*, *Upādhyāya* and *Sarvasādhu*, cannot attain salvation.[3] *Varāṅgacharita* refers to two kinds of worships, *bhāva pūjā* and *dravya pūjā* and also points out the differences

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between the two systems.[4] This text describes the merit of building temples, setting up images and worshipping the deities. This text furnishes the most detailed description of the rituals of the sacred bath ceremony of the Jinas.[5] The *Padmapurāṇa*, composed by Ravisena in the 7th century A.D. advises people to erect Jaina images, worship them with flower, incense, light etc. for blessings in the present life and that in the other world. This text further states that installing Jaina idols and performing worship to them would help a man to accomplish the most difficult worldly duties.[6] Later works like *Yaśastilaka Champū* of Somadevasūri (A.D. 959) and *Vasunandiśrāvakāchara*[7] of the early years of the 12th century A.D. speak of the merits of performing religious activities like installation of idols and worshipping them.

Epigraphical evidences from copper and lithic records of the contemporary period corroborate the above mentioned data collected from religious literature. According to a copper plate grant of the Kadamba King Mṛigeśa Varman, a Jaina temple was constructed by him in the city of Palāśikā, modern Halsi, in his eighth regnal year.[8] His successor Ravi Varma made arrangements to conduct festivals on specific occasions for the glorification of *Jinendra*.[9] An inscription of the sixth regnal year of the Chālukya King Kirtivarman II says that a Jaina temple was erected by Kāḷiyamma, the *Gāvuṇḍa* of Jebulagiri in Dharwar district.[10] During the reign of Pulakesin II, Durgaśakti of the Sendraka family donated 500 *nivartanas* of land for the worship and offering to the god Śaṅkha Jinendra.[11] Similar records obtained from Karnataka explicitly or implicitly refer to the practice of temple building and installation of images during the 7th-8th centuries.

In Tamilnadu also the practice of temple building and idol worship began at least in the same period. An inscription of the sixth regnal year of the Pallava king Simhavarman records a grant of landed property as *Paḷḷichchandam* for the worship of *Jinendra* and *Jainendras*.[12] Another record of Pañchapāṇḍavamalai states that a certain Nāraṇan of Pugaḷālamangalam caused to have carved an image of *Poṇṇivakki* attended by a Jaina monk, probably the preceptor Nāgaṇandi.[13] There are a number of records from North Arcot, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Tiruchirappalli districts which record installation of images of Jinas and gifts for kinds of offerings.[14]

From these literary and epigraphic sources it becomes clear that the Jaina practices of building temples, installing images and offering worship were prevalent throughout South India during the early medieval period. It can be also assumed that the spread of these practices which followed a universal pattern was a result of an organised movement. This was the period which witnessed the activities of the *Śaivite* and *Vaishṇavite* saints who propagated the idea of *Bhakti* devotionalism. Jainism in South India rose to the occasion, accepted the challenge and adopted various methods including the cult of *Bhakti* to gain ground. The wave of Jaina *bhakti* movement reached Kerala probably in a slightly later period. The earliest traces of structural temples of the Jains belong to the 9th or the 10th century A.D.[15]

Acceptance of the tantric mode of worship and other tantric and occult practices

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were another policy for attracting popular attention. This aspect also can be studied only in the background of South Indian Jainism. It has been observed that the growth of Jaina tantrism was the natural outcome of the early medieval age, which witnessed the infiltration of tantrism into Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaishṇavism.[16] It appears that the tantrism was introduced into the Jaina order through the cult of *Yakṣhas* and *Yakshis*. These supernatural beings were subordinate deities attending upon Jinas. They had no independent existence. In the earlier texts and iconographic representations their subordinate position is clear.[17] But in some later sculptures like that in the Meguṭi temple at Aihoḷe, the position is elevated to that of an independent deity. Further, the *Yakshi* at the Meguṭi temple has two lady attendants.[18] It has been suggested by previous scholars like P.B. Desai that the change of the *Yakshi* images from the left side of the Jinas to the more important right side also, shows the prominence attained by these goddesses.[19] Desai, who has carried out intensive studies on South Indian Jainism is of opinion that the Yāpanīyas, a section of Jains in Karnataka who were responsible for the introduction of some new ideas like the equality of women, played an important role in propagating the cult of Yakshis.[20]

The Jaina cult of *Yakshi* has been described by some scholars as an entirely new phenomenon among the Jains of Karnataka during the early medieval times.[21] However, some other scholars have pointed out that the worship of *yakshas* and *yakshis* in one way or other comes from a hoary past and that these demi-gods and goddesses are said to have been connected with the cults of mother goddess and fertility.[22] This observation is supported by several sculptural representations from Buddhist sites in North India as well as in the Deccan.[23] This is not to argue that the practice was diffused from the Northern India. Instead, the *Yakshi* worship in South India seems to have been evolved from local cults of mother goddesses. The folk character of the tantric aspects of the *yakshi* worship seems to support this view.[24] Further, it may be remembered that the important tantric texts like *Jvālini kalpa* and *Bhairavi Padmāvati kalpa* which codify and systematise the worship of *yakshis*, were composed in South India. According to these texts the worship of these *Yakshis* was initiated by Jain preceptors of South India.[25] However, the sculptural evidence which preceded the literary texts would indicate that the cult was prevalent among the people and that later preceptors systematised the worship, codifying rules and regulations for the same.

In Tamilnadu the earliest available evidence which indicates the existence of the worship of *yakshis* belong to the middle of the 8th century A.D.[26] The characteristic features of Medieval *yakshi* images like independant status and prominent position are present in the Tamilnadu sculpture also. This seems to indicate that there was a universal pattern for the worship of *yakshis*. From the sculptural representations it can be inferred that Jaina preceptors and revivalists made efforts to popularise the *yakshi* cult. The *yakshi* image at Pañcapāṇḍavamalai referred to above is depicted as attended by a saint, probably the preceptor Nāgaṇandi.[27] Ajjaṇandi, who caused the *yakshi* image at Tiruccāṇattumalai to be sculptured was responsible

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for carving some *yakshi* images elsewhere in South India.[28] These activities seem to represent a revivalistic movement which formed part of a conscious effort to propagate popular cults and practices. It is to be remembered here that this was the period of revival of the Jaina religion in South India after a temporary set back caused by the wide-spread activities of the *Bhakti* exponents of the *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava* sects. It has been rightly assumed by scholars that the popularisation of this cult was a need-satisfying device on the part of the Jaina preceptors and monks who had to compete with the *Śaivites* and *Vaishṇavites*.[29]

It seems that the cult of *yakshas* and *yakshis* reached Kerala following the wave of revivalism which spread all over South India in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A.D. This assumption is supported by the epigraphical data supplied by Tiruchchāraṇattu-malai.[30] The figure of the *Yakshi* Ambikā at this place carved by Ajjaṇandi deserves attention in connection with an observation made by Desai that Ambikā, the attendant deity of Neminatha the 22nd *Tirthaṅkara* had won greater reverence from the people of Tamilnadu in the early period.[31] Next comes Siddhāyikā of Mahāvīra. In Kerala, Siddhāyikā was installed in the Kallil temple near Perumbavoor in the Ernakulam district.

A common feature of the early centres of the cult of *yakshis* should not be overlooked. They were situated on the top of hills. According to tradition, Hēḷā-chārya, the originator of the cult of Jvālāmālinī, propitiated the goddess on the Nīlagiri hill.[32] Most of the Jain temples in Tamilnadu were on hill tops. In Kerala also the early centres are in the hilly regions like Tiruchchāraṇattu and Kallil, remo-ved far away from the fertile plains. It has been observed that 'tantric survivals are more noticeable in the peripheral areas than in the heart of Brahmanical centres.[33] The above mentioned centres are all far away from Brahmanical settlements which were situated invariably in the fertile agricultural regions.

In a later period we see more centres of *yakṣhi* worship coming up in the plains. One such centre is at Paruvaśśēri in the Palghat district. An image of Chandraprabha *Tīrthaṅkara* which was formerly installed in the central shrine is now removed to an outer enclosure where he receives worship as *Śāstā* or *Ayyappa*. The female deity, probably Jvālāmālini who is the attending deity of Chandraprabha, is now worshipped as *Bhagavati*. At Nīlamperūr in Kottayam district a *yakshi* is enshrined in a temple usually known as Paḷḷibhagavati temple. The invoking hymn of this deity proves beyond doubt that this was a *yakshi*.[34] Siddhāyikā in the Kallil temple is worshipped by local Hindus as *Bhagavati* or *Durgā* but the Jains from Cochin and Alleppey come here and pay homage to this deity as a *yakshi*.

Apart from these independent shrines for *yakshis*, several Hindu temples in Cochin and Central Travancore have *yakshis* as subordinate deities either enshrined in separate enclosures outside the central shrine or installed somewhere, some times in the *maṇḍapa*, front porch, in a prominent place, as in the case of Tiruvalla Temple.[35]

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From the above survey it is clear that the revivalistic movements of early medieval Jainism in South India reached Kerala with all its characteristic features like Temple worship, *Bhakti* devotional and tantricism like the cult of *Yakshis*. Temple, as a *Bhakti*-disseminating centre, played an important role in the Jaina order. A perusal of the Jaina records in Kerala would show that the Jaina temples acted as a centre of social, cultural and economic activities.

The first and foremost function of a temple is to provide the common people a religious centre for worship. The Jaina centres both early and later were such places with temples of Jaina deities.[36] For common folk, religious belief is based on rituals performed at such centres where images of gods are installed and the rituals were part and parcel of the cult of *Bhakti* which was a characteristic feature of medieval Jainism. The inscriptions yielded by various Jain sites in Kerala give us some idea of several rites performed in the Jain temples in Kerala. Tāḷekkēvu stone inscription of *c.* 9th century A.D. refers to such a rite i.e. lighting a lamp for *yaksha*.[37] Another record of about the same period registers a grant for two perpetual lamps in the temple at Kiṇālūr.[38] According to another inscription of A.D. 1684 the Jaina chiefs at Kārkaḷa offered a number of lamps to a *basti* in Wynad.[39] Jains attach much importance to the lamp offering to Jaina dieties. Jaina Canonical texts and *Purāṇas* like *Paramārthaprakāśa* and *Padmapurāṇa* of early medieval period ordain Jaina devotees to make arrangements for the eight fold worship among which lamp is an important component.[40]

We get a fairly detailed account of daily offerings made in a Jain temple from the Nāgercoil records of Bhūtalavīra Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma of the year A.D. 1506.[41] These records register several grants made by the king to the Jain monastery at Nāgercoil in different years beginning from the Kollam year 681 (A.D. 1506). According to these grants arrangements were made by the donor for daily offering of *Pāyasam* (sweet rice) in the morning and sacred lamp and rice offering at noon. Apart from these, garland, rosewater, camphor and saphron were also offered on sundays in the month of *Tai*.[42] The Kiṇālūr inscription is another record which gives us some more valuable details about the daily rituals in a Jain temple. Sandal paste and flower garlands were offered daily in addition to perpetual lamps. The rite of *śrībali* was also observed daily. An interesting piece of information supplied by this inscription is that arrangements were made for a daily offering of umbrella. Medieval Jain texts like *Parmārthaprakāśa* and *Vasunandiśrāvakachāra* praise the offerings of incence, flower, unboiled rice, sweets and umbrella as meritorious deeds.[43] A peculiarity of this kind of rituals is that they are in one way or other related to some mythological beliefs. It is mythological concepts that give the religious beliefs and rituals to their character. Even iconographic features of certain gods and goddesses are based on mythology as in the cases of *Yakshi* Padmāvati and *Yaksha* Dharaṇēndra, who are the attendant deities of Pārśvanātha. The worship of personal gods can be introduced only after the emergence of the mythological concepts of gods, demigods and attendant deities. Elaborate rituals of individual gods are formed on the basis

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of these concepts and beliefs. The rituals become in their elaborate nature the instrument which strengthen and renew religious conviction.[44]

One of the important characteristics of medieval South Indian *Bhakti* revivalism is its tendency to employ artistic devices which were institutionalised in the dissemination of *Bhakti* through temples. The mass media of music and dance were used in the propagation of *Bhakti* devotionalism and such media were common to all religions. While the *Bhakti* movement utilized the potentials of art for propaganda, the art on its part helped *Bhakti* to take root in the society.

Artistic performances like music and dance were common to the medieval temples of South India. The presence of such activities in medieval Jain temples shows that Jainism had become a popular religion. This observation is supported by eminent sociological thinkers who have pointed out that 'mass religion' is frequently and directly dependant on artistic devices for the required potency of its effects, since it is inclined to make concessions to the needs of the masses which everywhere tend to foreward magic and idolatry.[45]

In spite of the extreme limitations of our sources, we have a few references to some of the recreational aspects of the medieval Jain temples in Kerala. The Kiṇāḷūr inscription, among various daily offerings, refers to Kūttu, dance for which a certain amount of paddy was set apart.[46] This interesting reference to *Kūttu* reminds one of the similar practice which was prevalent in the Medieval Brahmanical temples in South India. Sometimes the performance was based on Sanskrit dramas for example, *Kāḷiyāṅkam kūttu*, the fourth act of the Sanskrit play *Bālacharita*, which is usually attributed to the celebrated author Bhāsa.[47] Activities of this kind have been viewed as a powerful medium through which Brahmanical ideas, ideals and mythological concepts were propagated among the masses.[48] However, our sources do not provide us any clue to arrive at a conclusion regarding the nature and character of the *Kūttu* performances referred to in the record. But it is interesting to note that the performance of music and dance in temple was not unknown to the Jains of medieval South India. *Varāṅgachartia* shows that music and dance were items which were considered important in the evening worship.[49] *Padmapurāṇa* also describes music and dance performed in the temples as meritorious offerings by which the devotee gains eternal bliss.[50] Epigraphical evidences also go to prove that the performance of dance with musical accompaniments were prevalent in Jain temples in the early medieval period. In one such instance a Rāṣṭrakūṭa King donated a village to make provisions for dancers and drummers.[51] An inscription at Kuḷugumalai in Tirunelveli District records that a certain image was caused to be made by Tiruchchāraṇattu Kuṛattikaḷ for the merit of certain Kūttan Kōman of Perumbāvūr in Kōṭṭūr Nāḍu, evidently a dancer who was in some way or other connected with Tiruchchāraṇattu malai.[52] Dancing halls were also attached to Jain monasteries as attested by a Śravaṇabelgoḷa epigraph which refers to a *nṛttālaya*, dancing hall constructed by a certain seṭṭi in front of the Nagara *Jimālaya*.[53]

The sacred procession during the daily *śrībali* rituals and festivals conducted on

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certain occasions has got some recreational value. According to the Kiṇālūr inscription arrangements were made and paddy was set apart for the purpose. From contemporary sources it is learnt that in Brahmanical temples the *śrībali* rituals were accompanied by drummers and musicians etc.[54]

Festival celeberations form part of important entertainment items in temples. There were many such occasions when the community as a whole assembled in the temple and took part in various activities, sacred as well as secular. The consecration days of the deities of a temple seems to be such an occasion on which special rituals were observed and offerings made. From our sources it appears that the consecration day of the temple at Tirukkuṇavāy, which was the model for most of the Jain temples in Kerala, was one among such occasions. This is only a surmise arrived at by the fact that donations to some of the medieval Jain temples like that in Tāḻekkāvu in South Wynad and Kiṇālūr in Calicut District were made seemingly on the consecration day of Tirukkuṇavāy.

Vṛśchika viḷakku, the lamp festival in the month of *Vṛśchika* (November) is a celebration mentioned in our sources. The Kiṇālūr inscription refers to this festival and sets apart certain landed property for the purpose. That the lamp festival in the month of *Vṛśchika* was popular in Kerala during this period is clear from the contemporary epigraphic and literary sources. The Solar month of *Vṛśchika* is almost the same as *Kārttika*. This was considered to be sacred for burning hundreds of lamps in houses and temples. The festival of *Vṛśchika viḷakku*, also known as *Kārttika viḷakku* was considered by Vashṇavites as a favourite occasion for Śrī Kṛṣṇa. *Padmasaṁhitā*, a medieval Sanskrit text states that during this festival lamps were lit in hundreds and thousands on walls and porches and towers.[55] In the Padmanābhasvāmi Temple at Trivandrum two lamps were offered by a devotee for the shrine of *Tiruvāyampāṭippiḷḷa*, the child of Ambāḍi, i.e. Śrī Kṛṣṇa.[56] Kollūr Maṭham records of A.D. 1189 tell us that twenty-seven and a half large measures of paddy, four measures of rice, fifteen measures of oil and one palm (1/3 of a pound) of thread, one hundred betel leaves and 24 arecanuts were allotted for the occasion of this festival.[57] In the Tiruvalla Temple, one of the biggest temples in medieval Kerala, special offerings were made on the occasion.[58] This festival can be traced back to the Caṅkam period. An *Akam* song describes how people observed it. In this song the heroine comforts herself that her lover would join her in the festival that would be celebrated by many, after the days of cultivation are over in the ancient victorious city, by hanging up garlands and lighting lamps in the streets on that bright midnight when the moon would be full enough to reveal the rabbit (the shadow in the moon) in a clear sky with the constellation of *Kārttika*.[59]

From the Jataka stories we understand that the *Kārttika* lamp festival, which was popular all over India, was held on the full moon day and that the king went round the city in a procession on this occasion.[60] From very early times Jains also celebrated this festival. The Kadamba King Ravivarma issued an ordinance that the festival of Jinendra lasting for eight days should be celebrated regularly every year on the full moon day of the month of *Kārttika* and for this purpose he set apart the

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revenue from the village of Purukhēṭa.[61] It is interesting to note in this connection that according to the *Padmapurāṇa* of Ravisena, the main interest of Jain monks which starts from the full moon day of *Āṣāḍha* ends on the full moon day of *Kārttika*.[62] During this season the monks lived in caves or on the banks of rivers or in a Jain temple. Hence the importance attached to this festival by Jains.

Religious ceremonies such as festivals and processions provide opportunity for groups worship. It has been suggested that the first effects of religious ceremonies are to put the members of a particular belief group into action, to multiply the relation between them and to make them more intimate with one another by uniting them with a common conviction. By celebrating ceremonial rituals "men's thoughts are concentrated upon their common beliefs, traditions and the memory of their ancestors—in a word, upon social things."[63] Ceremonialism, undoubtedly, is a powerful agent in uniting people which is evident from the very common and willing participation of the members of the society. Thus the recreational aspects of the religious centres of Jains in Kerala attracted people into their fold.

By various activities both sacred and secular, the medieval temple in South India was a community centre and those of the Jains are no exception. We have seen that the Jain temples in Kerala are located on conjectural trade routes. This fact would indicate that these centres possibly served the purpose of inns or temporary resting places for itinerary trading groups. Donation of landed property to Jain religious institutions by kings and chieftains implies that a section of the common tillers and other labourers, however small might be their number, were attached to the temple. Through the landed property and the revenue from them, royal personages and local bodies were also in touch with the temple.[64] Apart from these, groups of pilgrims, both monks and laity seem to have visited temples from time to time. The Kiṇālūr inscriptions state that arrangements were made for one *akkiram* (*agram*), food for one brahmin and two *pochanams* (*bhojanam*, literally means food) daily.[65] From our sources the actual technical difference between *agram* and *bhojanam* is not clear but as they are differently stated it can be assumed that food was served from the temple for different sections of people. Thus the Jain temples in medieval Kerala attracted various sections of people enlisting participation of various social groups and thereby extending the benefits of the religion to different strata of the society. On the one hand it linked itself with the ruling elite by holding landed property and attracting merchantile groups. On the other hand it attracted the common folk by adopting and assimilating their cults and arranging entertainments for them from time to time. They also attracted pilgrims and became part of the religious network which was a powerful medium for the propagation of the religion. That the temples acted as community centres is clear from all these facts.

The material basis of the Jaina temples in Kerala was provided by generous patrons, mostly members of the ruling families in the forms of grants and donations. A grant of Ārappan Kuñchi alias Kuṛumpoṛai says that forty *potis* of paddy from his portion of land in Kāntapuram, Muṭakkaraiyūr and Paiṅkaṇṭattūr was made over to

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the temple at Kuṇavāynallūr to meet various expenses.[66] Bhūtlavīra Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma, the King of Travancore is known to have donated vast areas of paddy fields to the Nāgarkovil temple and the land was entrusted with two ascetics of the temple, Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita and Guṇavīra Paṇḍita. This grant is termed as *paḷḷichchantam*, meaning a donation to a non-vedic religious institution.[67]

Jaina religious institutions were supported by mercantile groups like *Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar* as testified by the Tāḷekkāvu stone inscriptions.[68] This record says that the body of *Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar*, having constituted, endowed a lamp for the *Yaksha*, a certain amount of land was set apart for the purpose. The body of *Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar* occurs in the inscription of Ālannūr also. In this record this body is present along with certain other officials at the time of making some arrangements regarding the temple properties. Commenting on the word *Nāṛpatteṇṇāviravar*, K.G. Krishnan says that they are apparently a body of laymen but from the Tāḷekkāvu inscription it is clear that they were merchants.[69] The Ālattūr record also shows that the body of *Nārpatteṇṇāyiravar* had some important roles to play in the administration of the temple.

The property owned by the Jaina temple was called '*Devasvam*'.[70] Generally the land made over to the temples appears to have been exempted from taxes. The Governor and the temple servants are warned against receiving any income from the (property of the) deity of Tirumannur.[71] The Ālattūr record prevents the property from being misappropriated (*pugavu*), mortgaged (*oṛṛi*), pledged (*paṇaiyam*) or paid of as fine (*taṇṭam*).[72] The safety and preservation of the economic rights of the Jaina religious institutions were guaranteed by the donors or the temple authorities as the case may be, under moral threats as well as penal measures. Misappropriation or alienation of any kind of temple property was held as a heinous crime in the imprecatory portions of the Jaina inscriptions. Ālattūr record states that those who transgress the arrangements made by the authorities shall incur the sins of having defied the order of Tirukkuṇavāy, having caused harm to holy bodies including *pañchaperameṣṭigal*, the five great preceptors, having slayed sages, brahmanas and cows.[73] The records from Tiruvaṇṇūr and Tāḷekkāvu also have some injunctions which equate the obstructions of the Tirukkuṇavāy temple. Apart from the moral threat the obstructors had to remit fines to the temple. Tiruvaṇṇūr record fixes the fine to be remitted by the transgresser as 25 Kaḻañjus of gold.[74] Kiṇālūr inscriptions say that the defaulter shall be removed from their right if they fail to act according to the agreement. Protection of the temple property is often entrusted with some local groups like *Aṛumūṛṛuvar*, *Eḷunnūṛṛuvar* etc. who had to see that the agreement between the authorities and the tenants are obeyed correctly.[75]

The land donated to the temple was leased out to individuals as well as groups or group leaders by the temple authorities. The income from such lands would be utilized for various temple expenses like lighting lamps, performing daily rituals and conducting various offerings. For example a private individual called *Chāttanārukkaṭi*, literally meaning the slave of Chāttanār was appointed as the tenant for the land

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donated by Ārappan Kuñchi alias Kuṛumpoṛai. Similarly a certain chattan Chirikaṇṭan was appointed as tenant of the Tēvakinaṭai Compound who would conduct the *Virichchikaviḷakku* in the temple having enjoyed the tenancy of the above said compound.[76]

Though the actual tillers are not mentioned in our records, the vast area of land brought under cultivation presupposes a large number of labourers. Apart from the agricultural labourers and tenants attached to the temple properties some temple servants are also mentioned in our sources. The inscription from Tirumaṇṇūr mentions *Poduvāḷ, Ulpāḍu Cheyyumavan* and *Paṇiyuṭaiyavagaḷ*. From contemporary Hindu temple inscriptions with similar designations, it is learnt that Poduvāḷ was the general secretary of the temple and *Ulpāḍu Cheyyumavan* or *Ulpāḍan* was the officer who looked after the internal affairs of the temple.[77] *Paṇiyuṭaiyavagaḷ* denote temple servants in general.

The Ālattūr record mentions some other names such as *pati, pātamūlam, attikōśam, siṟṟattāṇi* and *aṭikanmār*. Unfortunately the exact duties and functions of these servants or groups of servants are not known. However the group of *pātamūlam* occurs in contemporary as well as later records and the work connotes the temple servants.[78] Our sources are silent about the remuneration paid to these servants. Nevertheless, it can be inferred that the temple servants earned their livelihood from the income granted by the temple. Thus the system which prevailed in these religious institutions served the purpose of distribution of wealth among various groups within the society.

The temple authorities who weilded considerable control over the lands granted to the temples acted as land intermediaries between the donors and the tenants. Thus we can see some traits of feudal system in the Jaina temple administration.[79]

The records which mention gold as fine to be remitted by the obstructors would lead to the assumption that temple had gold in their control. However the income from fines and other penal measures are quite unpredictable and it is not a regular source. But we have some references to gold received by temples as offering. Tiruchchāṇattu Bhaṭāriyār (the goddess of Tiruchchāṇattu Malai) received 15 *kalañjus* of gold from Guṇandāṅgi Kuṛattikaḷ, a disciple of Araṭṭanemi Bhaṭārar of Pērāyakkuṭi.[80] The donation is for offering *aravikkaṭṭappon* for the deity and the offering shall be made with the interest out of this gold. This record seems to be significant in more than one aspect. Firstly it implies that gold money transaction of some kind or other took place in the temple. The temple was able to receive interest only when the amount is invested for some profitable purpose. Probably the gold must have been lent to some mercantile group of Jains who visited the place from time to time. The Tiruvaṇṇūr inscription referred to above mentions Pāliyattu Kaṇṇan Kaṇṭan, Governor of Irāmavaḷanāḍu as one who had some claim for some gold from the deity of Tiruvaṇṇūr.[81] However, the Tiruvaṇṇūr inscription rejects the claim and states that no official shall receive any kind of amount from the temple.

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The above records clearly show that the Jaina temples were involved in economic activities such as receiving land and leasing them out for cultivation. Regular income from the land was accepted by the temples. The records also show that the Jaina temples had involved in money transactions also. It was either invested in some profitable transactions or lent to the needy people and received interest out of it. This is quite in keeping with the practice of the medieval temples of South India. The economic activities of the temples on the one hand brought certain sections of society under the control of the temples with certain duties and rights. On the other hand it served as a wealth distributing agency through which the wealth accumulated by the temples was distributed among various groups of people in its fold. It was a necessity of those sections to stick on to the temple which was the pivotal centre having control over land and gold which were the two main forms of wealth.

Notes and References

1. Ram Bhushan Prasad Singh, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka,* Delhi, 1975, p. 23. Sravanabelgola inscriptions mention Samantabhadra frequently as one of the three early pioneers of the Jains in South India. Desai says that Samantabhadra is often characterised by the epithet *Vanavāsin*, probably devoting his association with Banavasi. *Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957, p. 184 note 1 and also IA, XII, p. 247.
2. M. Santilal Vora (Tr.) *Paumachariya*, part I, Chapter 32. Verses 70 ff, p. 252 f. The date of *Paumachariya* is controversial. Some scholars think that it was composed in the 1st century A.D. while some others led by Jacobi hold that it belongs to the 3rd century A.D.
3. A.N. Upadhye, (Ed.), *Paramarthaprakāśa*, v. 168, p. 132. This work is attributed to the 6th century A.D.
4. A.N. Upadhye, (Ed.), *Varāṅgacharita*, Bombay, 1938, Chapter 22, v. 43 ff, p. 216. Upadhye thinks that this is a work of Jatasimhanandi and he places the author at the end of the 7th century A.D. *Bhavapūjā* means the concentration of mind on the various qualities of the deities and *dravyapūjā* means the proper worship of the idols of Jinas with elaborate ritual and offering of eight articles which included rice, sandal, incence and flower. It may be noted that *dravyapūjā* implies the worship of idols.
5. *Ibid.*, ch. 22, v. 33 ff, pp. 215-6 and ch. 23, v. 60 ff, pp. 225-6.
6. *Padmapurānam*, Bharatiya Jnana Pith, Kasi, 59, part I, ch. 14, vv. 92-3 and v. 213, p. 321.
7. Hiralal Jain (Ed.), *Vāsunandi Srāvkachara*, v. 482, p. 136.
8. *IA*, VI, p. 24.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
10. *BKI*, I, pt. 1. no. 5, p. 3.
11. *Ibid.*, IV, no. 3, p. 2.
12. Pallavar Ceppetukal Muppatu, pp. 1-32.
13. *EI*, IV, pp. 136-7. Desai thinks that this is an image of *Siddhyikā*, the attendant deity of Mahavira. For an iconographic note see *Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957, p. 40.
14. SII, XIX, no. 51, XIV, nos. 22, 32, 39, 41, 45.
15. M.R. Raghava Varier, *Jainism in Kerala*, M. Phil. dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1979 (unpublished), pp. 22ff.
16. R.B.P. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
17. Jas Burgess, *Digambara Jaina Iconography*, p. 5. In a sculpture of *c.* 7th century A.D.

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Ambika Yakshi of the 22nd *Tirthankara* is depicted on the left side of the Jina as waiting upon him. She has four arms and two children on her lap.

18. Henry Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture of the Karnatak District*, p. 31.
19. P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957, p. 38. For a similar view see also R.B.P. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 170. For a comment on this aspect based on sociology see M.R. Raghava Varier, *Monastic Life of Jains in Karnataka*, (Unpublished term paper submitted to the JNU, 1978) p. 38.
21. R.B.P. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
22. Ananda K. Coomaraswami, *Yakṣas*, Delhi 1971, part I, p. 33 and part II, p. 13.
23. *Ibid.*, see parts I & II plates.
24. *Jvālinīkalpa*. Ch. IV, Verse 1. Quoted by R.N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*, Delhi. 73, pp. 114-5.
25. *Jvālinīkalpa* was composed by Indranandi Yogiśvara in A.D. 939 under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa III. The text says that the worship of *Jvālāmalinī* was originated by Helacharya of the *Dravida Sangha*. Propitiating this *Yakshi* in the Nilgiri Hills, the preceptor Helacharya rescued one of his desciples from the evil spirit of *Brahmarākshasa* (P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, *Bhiravi Padmāvati Kalpa* was written by Mallisena Suri who lived in the 11th century A.D. He was a reputed scholar in Sanskrit. This text codified the worship of Padmavati, the attendant *Yakshi* of Pārśvanātha. According to tradition Padmavati is responsible for the prosperity of the Santara chiefs of Karnataka (*Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 138, Ec., VIII, Nagar 35).
26. EI, IV, pp. 136-7. The inscription on Crack in Panchapandavamalai, N. Arcot District, states that the *Yakshi* image, under which the epigraph is engraved, was caused to be carved by certain Naranan of Pugalamangalam. The record also says that the *yakshi* represented by the sculpture is Ponniyakki. P.B. Desai has identified this image of *yakshi* with the female figure seated on a raised platform. He also identified the *yakshi* Ponniyakki with Siddhāyika, the attendant deity of Mahavira (Desai, *op. cit* , pp. 39-40).
27. Desai, *Ibid.*, 39-40.
28. From the Epigraphical and sculptural evidences it can be inferred that the main share of activities of the preceptor Ajjanandi was the Madurai District. The sculptures caused to be made by him can be seen at Vallimalai in the North Arcot District and at Eruvadi in the Tirunelveli District. For a detailed description of the Ajjanandi's revivalistic activities see P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-3.
29. Desai, *Ibid.*, pp. 72-3. "The presence of this kind of popular cults in Jainism shows that it had passed beyond the circle of monasticism and became popular religion with a cult. These fertility spirits are present here because the people are here". A.K. Coomaraswami, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
30. *TAS*, Vol. II, part II, pp. 125 ff. and plates see also *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 193-5.
31. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
33. R.S. Sharma, 'Material Milieu of Tantricism in *Indian Society : Historical Probings*. (In Memory of D.D. Kosambi) (Ed.), R.S. Sharma & Vivekananda Jha, New Delhi, 1977, p. 187. Prof. Sharma is speaking about the macro level of the whole of India but this seems to be applicable to the micro level of South India, especially Tamilnadu and Kerala.
34. "*Namāmi yakshim dhavalāmbarādhyām*" meaning I bow to the *Yakshi* who is attired in white robe.
35. The *Yakshi* in the Tiruvalla temple is referred to as Māyyakki or *Mahāyakshi* in a copper plate inscription which is attributed to the 12th, 13th century A.D. see TAS, Vol. II, pt. III, p. 163, 1.412.
36. For identification and description of Jain sites in Kerala, see Appendix II.
37. See *supra*, Chapter II, note 51.

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38. See *supra*, Ch. II, note 54.
39. M.R. Raghava Varier, The Varadur Jain Inscription of Saka 1606, *JKS*, 1976, December.
40. *Paramārthaprakāśa*, v. 168, p. 312; *Padmapurāṇa* pt. I, Ch. 14, vv. 92-3, p. 33.
41. TAS, VI, pt. I, p. 153ff. The kind is described as the senior member of the Ciṟavāy family which was the rulers of Veṇāḍ.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-9.
43. *Paramārthaprakāśa*, v. 168, p. 312; *Vasunandī Śrāvakāchāra*, vv. 483-92, pp. 135-6.
44. For a detailed discussion on the ritual and ceremonial aspects of religion see Melville J. Herskovits, *Cultural Anthropology*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 210-33.
45. *Ibid.*
46. As 38 above.
47. *TAS*, II, pt. I, p. 267, Winternitz, *RVRIB*, pt. I, pp. 10-11, K.R. Pisharotdy, *IHO*, 19, 1925 pp. 238 ff.
48. For a discussion on the temple dance in Kerala see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aryanisation in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1972, pp. 43 ff.
49. *Varāṅgacharita*, ch. 23, v. 10, p. 221.
50. *Padmapurāṇa*, pt. II, ch. 32, v. 171, p. 98.
51. EC IX, pp. 44-5.
52. *Supra*, Chapter II, note 21.
53. E.C. II, no. 457.
54. Rajan Gurukal, *Socio-Economic Role of Kerala Temple* unpublished M. Phil. dissertation, JNU, Delhi 1978, p. 100.
55. Quoted by K.V. Subramanya Iyer, TAS, III, pt. I, pp. 44-5.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *TAS*, IV, p. 46 ff, 11 60-65.
58. *Ibid.*, II, pt. 1.267.
59. *Akanānūṟu*; 141. See also M.R. Raghava Varier, Temple Festivals in Medieval Kerala, *JKS*, V, March, 78, pp. 58-9.
60. E.B. Cowell, *The Jatakas*, Vol. I, London, 1957, p. 261.
61. *IA*, VI, No. 22, p. 27.
62. *Padmapurāṇa*, pt. I, ch. 22, v. 66, p. 463 and v. 83, p. 464.
63. Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 5th Edn. London, 1964, pp. 348 ff.
64. This problem has been dealt with in detail in Raghava Varier, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.
65. 11. 46-47.
66. No. 14 of 1901, *ARIE*, *SII*, VII no. 174, p. 74. *Malabar Manual* II, App. XXI, p. CCCXXIII 11. 10-15.
67. *TAS*, VI, pt. I, pp. 153 ff. Nagarcoil formed part of the erstwhile Travancore state. See also *TAS*, I, p. 194, and II, pp. 127-9.
68. Raghava Varier, *op. cit.*, p. 40 also note no. 54. The text given by M.G.S. Narayanan was prepared by an eye copy given by the present writer. The incomplete text was published in *Cultural Symbiosis*, Trivandrum, 1972, p. 75. The comments made in the present essay are based on a complete text prepared by the present author.
69. K.G. Krishnan, Tirukuṇavāy and the inscription of Ālattūr, *JKS*, I, serial 1, July '73, p. 30.
70. 220 of 1895 *ARIE*: *SII*, V, no. 784 (1886) p. 338, 1.6.
71. 11 5-6 of the same inscription.
72. K.G. Krishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Same as 70 above.
75. 14 of 1901 *ARIE*, *SII*, *VII*, no. 174, p. 74, 11 26, 49, 50.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Rajan Gurukkal, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

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78. 39 of 1895, 110 of 1910, *ARIE.*
79. R.S. Sharma has suggested that with the grants of land free from royal interference the Buddhist temples grew into later *maṭhas* which assumed a feudal character. This seems to be applicable to the South Indian Jain temples of medieval period. R.S. Sharma, *Lights on Early Indian Society and Economy*, p. 150.
80. *TAS*, II, pt. II, p. 126.
81. 220 of 1895, *ARIE*, 11. 4-5.

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25

NOTE ON A JOINT ISSUE OF QUEEN MACHENES AND KING MAUES

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Some time back an interesting hoard of Indo-Parthian silver coins recovered in the Swat region was published by G. Le Rider is "Monnaise de Taxila et D'Archosie, Une Nouvelle Reina de Taxila", *Reveue des Eludes Gracques*, vol. lxxx (1967), pp. 331ff. If included in all twenty-nine silver tetradrachms struck on the Indian weight standard of the Indo-Greeks followed by the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians who followed them in the rule of the north-western areas of the Indian sub-continent.

Sixteen of these coins belong to the Indo-Scythian chief Maues and are of the well-known Zeus-Winged Nike type.[1] Another twelve specimens of the mounted horseman-Zeus holding sceptre and thunderbolt type can be attributed to the Śaka-Pahlava chiefs Vonones and Spalahora.[2]

It is the remaining piece which is of absorbing numismatic and historical interest.

The coins in question, which weighs 9.6 gms., bears on the obv. an enthroned female figure holding sceptre in her left hand and with the right hand stretched out and the Greek inscription, beginning at vii O'clock, *Basilisses Theotropou Machenes* and on the rev. God Zeus standing left with a long sceptre in his left hand and winged Nike in the right one, a monogram in the lower left field and the Prakrit-Kharoshṭhī legend *Rajatirajasa Mahatasa Moasa*.

It will be seen that the two legends refer to two personages : Queen Machen on the obv. and King Moa on the rev. Of these, Moa, who is given the sovereign titles *Rajatiraja* and *Mahata*, which are literal Prakrit renderings of *Basileos Basileon* and *Megas* respectively, is no doubt the well-known Indo-Scythian monarch Maues whose name is known to have been rendered as Moa in Prakrit.[3] Coins of this type are also known to have been issued by Maues in silver.[4] It is, however, the obv. inscription that is of much greater interest. It refers to Queen Machen who is not known hitherto from any other source. That she was a queen in her own right is

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indicated by the title *Basilisses* employed for her. The other title applied to her, *viz.*, *Theotropos*, means 'of divine manner'. The obv. legend would thus mean '(*coin*) of of Queen Machen of divine manner'.

This coin is comparable to the joint issues of Queen Agathocleia and Strato I. On one class, earlier one, of these coins the queen is mentioned with identical titles on the obv., *viz.*, *Basilisses* and *Theotropos*, while Strata (Strato), who is relegated to the rev., is mentioned with the titles *Maharaja*, *Tratara* and *Dhramika*. On another class of similar coins of similar type the title *Theotropos* is left out for Agathocleia. Then, on some other coins her name appears without any regal title while regal titles are found employed for her son Strato. On some later coins we find only Strato's name, that of his mother Agathocleia being omitted altogether.[5] These coins are by common consensus taken to represent different stages in the political career of Strato I and to indicate that at first Agathocleia ruled as the regent on behalf of Strato I who was a minor at that time and was in all probability her son. As Strato came up of age, he was given an increasingly greater role in the administration of the kingdom and later, when he became a major, he rose to the position of the sole sovereign monarch with Agathocleia having to say no in state matters.

The import of the coin in question can be best understood in the light of these Indo-Greek issues as the impact of Indo-Greek coins on Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coinages is too well-known to be elaborated here. It is particularly noteworthy in this connection that Queen Machen claims the obv. while the rev. is given to Maues which indicates the respective positions occupied by them in the body politic of the state at the time this coin was put into circulation. As the obv. is regarded as of greater importance in the coinages of the early foreign rulers of India, we may justifiably conclude that Queen Machen held a superior position as compared to that of Maues at that time. In view of this fact G. Le Rider's suggestion to take Machen as the wife of Maue[6] is far from convincing. If we were to accept this view, the relegation of her supposed husband, *viz.*, Maues, to the rev. will be inexplicable. We are, therefore, inclined to take her as a senior relative, most probably mother, of Maues who served as the regent on behalf of her son who was a minor at the time of his accession. As pointed out by Rider, the name Machen may be related to Iranian Māh, meaning "moon", and is comparable to Persian *mahin*, "(beautiful) like the moon".[7]

The coin under consideration has thus brought to light an hitherto unknown Indo-Scythian queen. She undoubtedly played an important part in the Indo-Scythian polity at a critical juncture in the life of Maues.

Notes and References

1. For coins of this type, see R.B. Whitehead, *PMC*, i, p. 98.
2. For this type, see *ibid.*, p. 141.

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3. Moga, which is met with in the Taxila plate of his time, was another Prakrit form of his name. See D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, p. 124.
4. *PMC*, i, p. 98.
5. A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, pp. 71-74.
6. Rider, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 341, note 1.

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26

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY RĀSHTRAKŪṬAS

H. S. THOSAR*

The Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkhed played the most dynamic role in the post-Harsha period of ancient Indian history. But the history of their ancestors is still a controversy. Fortunately fresh material is coming forward which will certainly shed a new light on this problem.

Origin and Ancestry

Dr. A. S. Altekar has discussed the name and origin of this family.[1] On the basis of his contentions the origin of the Rāshṭrakūṭas could be traced to the *Raṭhis* and *Mahāraṭhis*, who administered the Deccan during the post-Sātavāhana period.[2] Lattalura was the original homes of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[3] Dr. Altekar has identified this place name with Latur, a sub-divisional headquarters in the Osmanabad District of the Marathwada division of Maharashtra.[4] The identification is testified to by the inscriptions found at Latur.[5]

According to Shri G. H. Khare, Lattalura or Lattanaura is a derivative of *Raṭṭanaura*, meaning the town of the *Rattas*.[6] The place name thus owes its origin to the celebrated *Raṭṭas* or Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Sitabardi inscription of the Kalyana Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI refers to one *Mahāsāmanta* Rāṇaka Ohāḍideva who is styled as the scion of the Mahārāshṭrakūṭa family of Lattalura.[7] The Kanhegaon inscription of Yādava king Kānharadeva records grants made by one Gopāladeva who is also described as a member of the *Rashṭauḍa* family of Lattalura.[8] These evidences thus confirm the identification of Lattalura with Latur and its association with the Rāshṭrakūṭas. This shows that the original home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was situated in the Marathi speaking area of the Deccan.[9]

Early Rāshṭrakūṭa Families

The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānaput : The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura are the earliest

*Aurangabad.

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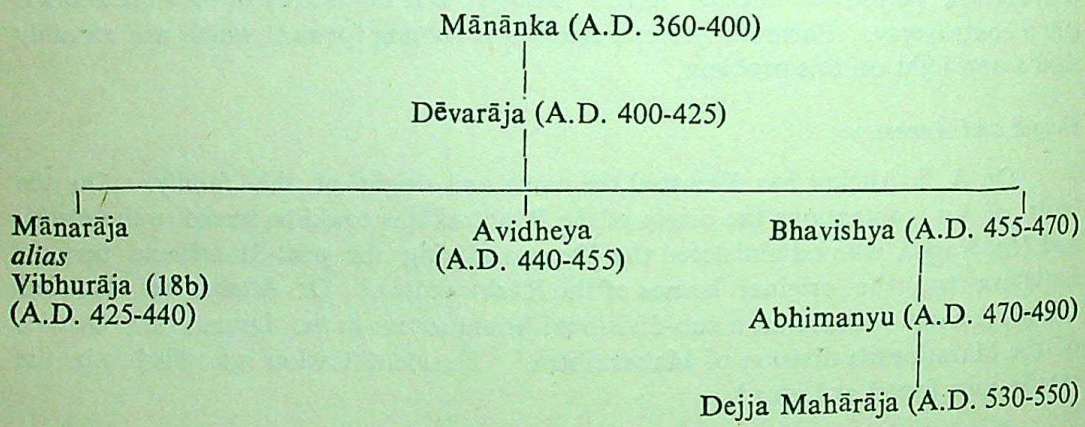
rulers of this family known so far.[10] Dr. Altekar's views regarding the ruling period of this family and the location of their kingdom have been contradicted by Drs V. V. Mirashi,[11] M. G. Dikshit[12] and D. C. Sircar[13]. According to these scholars, Mānānka, the founder of this house ruled during the latter half of the 4th century A.D. and his kingdom was situated in the southern part of Maharashtra. Mānapura, which was the capital of this king is now represented by Man in Satara District of Maharashtra.[14] On the basis of the findspots of inscriptions belonging to the rulers of this family and the locations of geographical names mentioned in them, it can be presumed that Satara, Kolhapur, Pune and Sholapur Districts of southern Maharashtra were included in this kingdom.[15] Dr. V. V. Mirashi has inferred that Rāshṭrakūṭa Dejja Mahārāja mentioned in the Gokak plates was the descendant of Rāshṭrakūṭa Abhimanyu of Mānapura.[16] It can therefore be said that this family held sway over the contiguous parts of Maharashtra and Karnataka from the middle of the 4th century A.D. to the middle of the 6th century A.D.[17] It is significant that the region is not very far from Lattalura which was the original home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Dr. V. V. Mirashi has proposed the genealogy of this dynasty as under :[18]



The succession of the rulers of this family thus could be traced from the middle of the 4th century A.D. to the middle of the 6th century A.D. which marks the rise of Pulakeśin I, the founder of the Chālukya house of Badami.[19] It can therefore safely be inferred that the Chalukyas of Badami wrested the power from the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura. This conjecture is corroborated by a number of Chālukya inscriptions which state that Jayasimha, the grandfather of Pulakēśin I had conquered the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra who was said to be the son of Krishna.[20] Dr. D. C. Sircar has identified this Jayasimha with his namesake mentioned in the Undikavatika grant Rāshṭrakūṭa Abhimanyu as his subordinate officer incharge of the Harivatsa fort.[21] The genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas Mānapura shows that Abhimanyu ruled from A.D. 470 to 480 and Dejja Mahārāja from A.D. 530 to 550. There is thus a hiatus of 40 years between the reigning periods of Abhimanyu and Dejja. It can therefore be surmised that this gap was the ruling period of Krishna and Indra who might have

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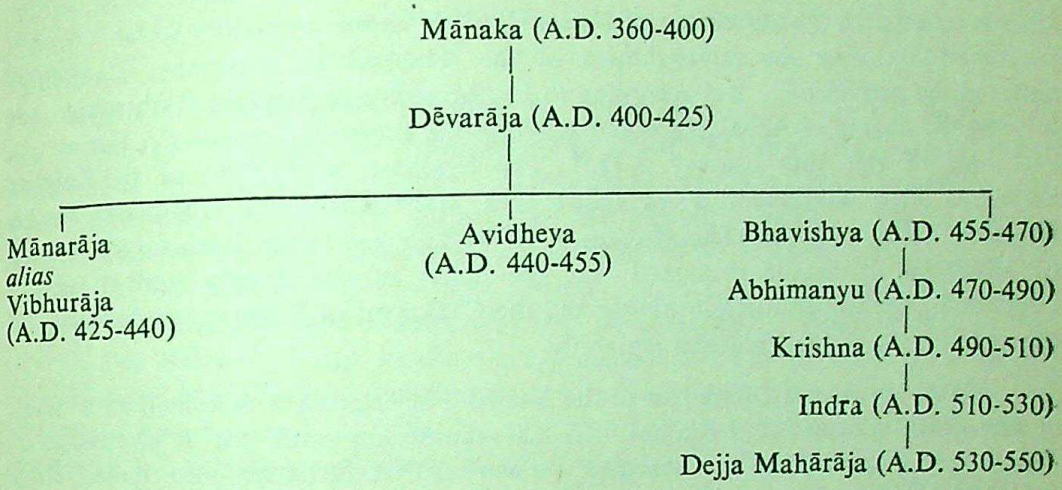
succeeded Abhimanyu and proceeded Dejja. In the light of this surmise the complete genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura can be reconstructed as under :



Dejja Mahārāja could thus be the contemporary of Pulakeśin I who appears to have accepted the overlordship of the Chālukyas of Badami.[22]

The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha

Another branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas is seen ruling in Vidarbha during the latter half of the 6th century A.D. The earliest known record of this branch is the Nagardhan grant of Swāmiraja, who, according to Dr. Mirashi, was the founder of this branch.[23] The inscription also mentions the name of Nannarāja who is described as the younger brother and also the successor of Swāmiraja. Dr. Mirashi thinks that these rulers were the ancestors of the Rāshṭrakūṭa chiefs of Vidarbha mentioned in the Multai, Tivarkhed and Sanglooda plates of Nannarāja, and administered the territory as the vassals of the Kalachuris of Māhishmati.[24] After the conquest of the northern Deccan by Pulakeśin II, Durgarāja of this branch seems to have changed his loyalty to the Chālukyas of Badami.[25] From the available record the genealogy of this branch can now be arranged as under :

Swāmirāja I (A.D. 570-600 vide Nagardhan plates)
|
Nannarāja I (A.D. 600-630) ,,
|
Durgarāja (A.D. 630-650 vide Multai, Tivarkhed and Sangloda plates)
|
Govindrāja (A.D. 650-670) ,,
|
Swamirāja II (A.D. 670-690) ,,
|
Nannarāja II (A.D. 690-730) ,,

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The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha thus governed the northern Deccan from the middle of the 6th century to the middle of the 8th century A.D. Nannarāja II appears to be the most prominent ruler of this branch as he had issued most of the known grants.[26] No successor of Nannarāja II is known to history so far. So it is presumed that after the establishment of the Rāshṭrakūṭa hegemony, Dantidurga annexed the province.[27] But according to Dr. Mirashi one Karkara Rāshṭrakūṭa was holding the charge of Achalapur under Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Govinda IV, during the first half of the 10th century A.D.[28] The Sitalbaldi inscription of the Kalyāṇa Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI shows that Mahārāshṭrakūṭa Dhāḍideva was his feudatory ruling over the Vidarbha area.[29] If he belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa branch of Vidarbha, it can be presumed that the chiefs of this family were allowed to continue by the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Chalukyas of Kalyana as incharge of the government of the Vidarbha region.[30]

Mahārāshṭrakūṭa Dhāḍideva of the Sitabaldi inscription is described as a scion of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Lattalura. If his relationship with the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha as discussed above is accepted, we can say that the latter also hailed from Lattalura. There are several common names in the genealogy of this branch as also that of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas. This indicates that this branch was a collateral branch of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas. Achalapur in Amraoti district and Padmanagara in eastern Vidarbha were the capitals of this ruling family.

A New Rāshṭrakūṭa Family

An inscription at the Ajanta caves in Aurangabad district has revealed the existence of yet another Rāshṭrakūṭa family.[31] It records the eulogy of Rāshṭrakūṭa Vajraṭadeva who is described as the brother of Nannarāja.

Dr. Yazdani has identified this Vajraṭa with Vajjaḍa of the Nasik plates, who was defeated by Dharāshraya Jayasimha, the Chālukya, governor of southern Gujarat, in A.D. 685 in the region between Mani and Narmadā in Gujarat.[32] The name of Vajraṭa is also mentioned in several Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions who is also identified with the same Vajjaḍa, but he was believed to be a north Indian ruler[33] or a king of Vallabhi.[34] The Ajanta inscription however disproves these presumptions as it describes Vajraṭa as the scion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family of *Dakshiṇāpatha.*

Dr. Yazdani has contended that as this Vajraṭa was the brother of Nannarāja, he might be the scion of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha.[35] This contention is not tenable because the ruling period of Nannarāja of Vidarbha was A.D.690-730[36] which is inconsistent with the period of Vajraṭa who was defeated in A.D. 685.[37] Further neither the Ajanta inscription mentions the names of the ancestors of Nannarāja of Vidarbha, nor do the records of the latter mention the name of Vajraṭa.[38] Nannarāja and Vajraṭa of the Ajanta inscription therefore appear to be the members of a different Rāshṭrakūṭa branch. Then where precisely did this family rule ? Following conjecture can be made to tackle this problem.

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When Dharāshraya Jayasimha crushed Vajjaḍa in A.D. 685, Vinayāditya was his sovereign at Badami. As Jayasimha undertook this expedition on behalf of Vinayāditya, it is but natural that this incident ought to be mentioned in his own records. The records of the latter do not mention the name of Vajjaḍa, but his Jejuri plates mention the name of Vila territory among his conquests. Is there any relationship between Vila and Vajjada or Vajraṭa ? The possibility cannot entirely be ruled out.

Vila, Viḍa or Biḍa denote a 'capital' or any army base.[39] On the strength of this etymology Vila can be identified with Beed, a district headquarters in the Marathwada division of Maharashtra. According to tradition, Bhāskarāchārya, the great astronomer of the 12th century was the resident of Beed.[40] The tradition is supported by the 'Leelāvati' composed by Bhāshkarāchārya himself, which describes him as the resident of Vijjalavida.[41] Literary sources describe Vijjalaviḍa as surrounded by the Sahyādri and situated very near to Godāvari.[42] Beed is just at the foot of the Balaghat range which is an extension of the Sahyādri and and is hardly 20 miles south of Godāvari. Inscriptions of the Yādavas of Devagiri mention the territory around Beed as Vila Desha.[43] The identification of Vila of the Chālukya inscription and Vijjalaviḍa of Bhāskarāchārya with Beed is thus confirmed by traditions as well as literary and epigraphic evidences. Vila or Vida was probably the original place name and Vijjala was the prefix that came to be affixed with Viḍa, some time before the days of Bhāskarāchārya. Vijjala is obviously the name of a person whose association with Viḍa coined the name of Vijjala-Vida. It reminds us the name of Bijjala Kalachuri. However, first, he lived at Manglvedha in Sholapur district and not at Beed. Secondly he was the contemporary of Bhāskarāchārya. The person whose name came to be prefixed to Viḍa must have lived before Bhāskarāchārya. Vajjaḍa or Vajraṭa is the only possible alternative. It can therefore be conjectured that Vajraṭa of the Ajanta inscription ruled in the Beed area.[44] Since Beed is adjacent to Latur and Aurangabad, this ruling family might have been a collateral branch of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Mulaka branch

Dr. Altekar has contended that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha were the direct ancestors of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas.[45] Dr. Mirashi, who has contradicted this view, proposes that they belonged to two different branches of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[46] According to him, the ancestors of Dantidurga, the founder of the imperial line lived in the vicinity of Aurangabad which he designates as the Mulaka branch of Rāshṭrakūṭas.[47] Dr. Mirashi's conjecture seems correct, because Nannarāja of Vidarbha was the contemporary of Indra II, the father of Dantidurga, whom Dr. Altekar has placed before Dantivarman, the great grandfather of Indra II. Ellora in Aurangabad district is the findspot of two inscriptions of Dantidurga which strengthens the view of Dr. Mirashi.[48] His conjecture if further confirmed by the discovery of new inscriptions in the vicinity of Aurangabad.

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We have already discussed the Ajanta inscription of Vajraṭa which has revealed for the first time the existence of a new Rāshṭrakūṭa family in this area.[49]

Recently a copper plate grant of Mahārāshṭrakūṭa Karkaraja has been discovered at Bhindhon near Aurangabad.[50] It records a village grant in the vicinity of Aurangabad by Karkarāja, who is described as the son of Govindarāja. On palaeographic grounds the plates can be assigned to the 7th century A.D.[51]

In the official genealogies of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas the names of Govinda and Karka occur after the names of Dantivarman and Indra Prachhakarāja.[52] Govindarāja and Karkarāja of the Bhindhon grant are probably the same rulers, because the order of their succession, probable dates and the findspot of the record support this surmise. If it is so, this will be the first known epigraphic record belonging to the direct ancestors of Dantidurga.

Due to the faulty drafting of the text, overwritings and other irregularities noticed in the Bhindhon grant, its genuineness might be questioned. But even if it is proved to be spurious, the historical importance of its contents need not be affected.[53]

A question can be raised as to why the genealogy of this grant starts with Govindarāja omitting altogether the names of Dantivarman and Indra Prachhakarāja. This can easily be explained by the fact that the name of Dantivarman is mentioned only in the Dashāvatāra Cave inscription of Dantidurga.[54] In other records the genealogies of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa kings begin either with Indra or Dantidurga. Sometimes even Dantidurga is omitted and Krishṇarāja I is seen described as the founder of the Imperial house.[55] On the contrary, in a number of records of the rulers of this branch the genealogies begin with Govindarāja as for example, the genealogy recorded in the Daulatabad plates of Shankaragaṇa.[56] Almost all the records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarat claim the descent of their line from Govindarāja.[57] Dr. Altekar has already shown that Govinda I of the imperial line and his namesakes mentioned in the Daulatabad plates and the records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarat are identical.[58] Govindarāja of the Bhindhon plates also appears to be the same ruler.

The mention of Govinda as the founder of the Imperial line in a number of records of this family thus shows that he was perhaps the most prominent ruler among the ancestors of Dantidurga. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has identified this Govinda with his namesake mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin.[59] The inscription states that Govinda and Appāyika had defied the authority of Pulakeśin II. Drs Altekar[60] and Sircar[61] do not accept this view. But in the light of the discovery of the Bhindhon plates the point raised by Shri Bhandarkar will have to be reconsidered.

As discussed earlier, the Bhindhon plates were issued by Karkarāja during the latter half of the 7th century A.D. Govindrāja of this record therefore might have ruled during the first half of the 7th century A.D. So his revolt against Pulakeśin II before A.D. 635 (the date of the Aihole Inscription) does not seem to be imaginary.

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Therefore the identification of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda I with Govinda of the Aihoḷe inscription as suggested by Shri Bhandarkar may be reconsidered.

It is difficult to establish the exact relationship between the Mulaka branch and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura. But the occurence of identical names such as Indra, Krishṇa, in the genealogies of both these families indicate a close relationship between them. The dynastic rivalry between the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas marks its beginning with the fall of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura. It ended again with the fall of the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkhed at the end of the 10th century A.D. This also supports the conjecture about the close relationship between the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura and their collateral branches.

Even after the unsuccessful revolt of Govinda I against Pulakeśin II, the Rāshṭrakūṭas chiefs made several attempts to overthrow the Chālukyas. During the reign of Chālukya Vinayāditya the Rāshṭrakūṭas appear to have made a second bid for the capture of power. Rāshṭrakūṭa Vajjaḍa or Vajraṭa launched an expedition to the Gurjara kingdom of Gujarat which was probably a dependency of the Chālukyas of Badami.[62] As mentioned in the Nasik plates, Dharāshraya Jayasimha, the Chāḷukya governor of southern Gujarat offered a stiff resistence to Vajjaḍa in the Mahi-Narmadā region and the whole army of the latter was massacred. Since this incident finds special mention in the Chālukya plates, it might have posed a serious challenge to the Chāḷukya power.[63]

The revolt of Vajraṭa is also frequently mentioned in the official records of the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas which describe Dantidurga as the destroyer of the Karnāṭa (Chāḷukya) army which had crushed Vajraṭa.[64] It thus indicates that by overthrowing the Chālukyas of Badami, Dantidurga avenged the defeat of Vajraṭa. It is also very significant that for his first defiance of the Chālukya power Dantidurga selected the same Mahi-Narmadā region, where Vajraṭa was defeated by Jayasimha.[65] Vajraṭa was thus the fore runner of Dantidurga in challenging the Chālukyas. It also indicates a close relationship between Vajraṭa and Dantidurga.

During the region of Chālukya king Vijayāditya, Indra II of the Mulaka branch and the father of Dantidurga stunned the Chālukyas by kidnapping princess Bhavanāgā, the daughter of Mangalarasa, the Chāḷukya governor of Gujarat, from Kheṭaka (Kheda in Gujarat), on the occasion of her *Swayamvara*. Mangalarasa was the son and successor of Dharāshraya Jayasimha who had crushed Vajraṭa. This was the third attempt on the part of the Rāshtrakūṭas, either to defy the Chāḷukya authority or to humiliate them.

During the reign of Kīrtivarman II, Dantidurga delivered a severe blow to the Chāḷukya power and brought about its end. These revolts attempted by the Rāshṭrakūṭa, chiefs thus show that Dantidurga's successful bid to overthrow the Chālukyas was not an isolated incident, but an outcome of the long standing dynastic rivalry between the Chālukyas of Badami and the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas.

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On the basis of the Bhindhon plates and the records of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas the genealogy of this family would be as under :

Dantivarman A.D. 550-575
|
Indra Prachhakarāja A.D. 575-600
|
Govindarāja I (Bhindhon plate) A.D. 600-650
|
Karkarāja I („) A.D. 650-670
|

Indra II (A.D. 700-735)	Nannarāja-Gunavaloka	(Gujarat branch) Dhruva (A.D. 710-730)	(Imperial line contd.) Krishnarāja I (A.D. 756-772)
Dantidurga (A.D. 735-755) (Founder of the Imperial line)	Shankaragaṇa	Govinda (A.D. 730-750)	Govinda II (A.D. 773-780)
		Karka-Suvarna-varsha (A.D. 750-770)	Dhruva Dhārāvarsha (A.D. 780-793)
			Govinda III (A.D. 793-814)
			Śarva Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 814-880)
			Krishṇa II (A.D. 880-914)
			Indra III (A.D. 914-928)
			Amoghavarsha II (A.D. 928-99)
			Krishṇa III (A.D. 939-967)
			Khoṭiga (A.D. 967-972)
			Karka II (A.D. 972-973)
			Indra IV

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Notes and References

1. A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakuṭas and their times*, p. 25.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 23.
4. *Ibid.*
5. G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 88-90.
6. G. H. Khare, *Select Articles*; pp. 77-82.
7. *EI.*, Vol. III, pp. 304-06.
8. S. G. Tulpule, *Prāchina Marathi Koriv Lekh*, No. 31.
9. The location of Latur, as suggested by Dr. Atlekar in Bidar district of Karnaaka appears to have based on inadequate information, because even prior to the reorganization of states, Latur formed the part of the Osmanabad district of Marathwada (Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 23).
10. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
11. V. V. Mirashi, "Rāshṭrakūṭas of Manapura", *ABORI.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-50.
12. M. G. Dikshit, *Selected Inscriptions from Mahārāshṭra*, pp. 1-9.
13. *The Classical Age*, p. 200.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Mirashi, *ABORI, op. cit.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. M. G. Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
20. *The Classical Age*, p. 201; Yazdani, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
21. *The Classical Age*, p. 200.
22. Mirashi, ABORI., *op. cit.*
23. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-11.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *The Classical Age*, p. 202.
26. V. V. Mirashi, *Samśodhana Muktāvalī*, Vol. II, pp. 111-14.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 304-06.
30. *Ibid.*
31. G. Yazdani, Ed., *Ajanta*, Vol. IV, pp. 121-24.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetter*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 368.
34. V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, Vol. IV, Introduction, p. ix.
35. *Ajanta, op. cit.*
36. *Samśodhana Muktāvali, op. cit.*
37. G. Yazdani, *EHD., op. cit.*
38. *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 62-66.
39. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 1005.
40. N. S. Ponnerkar, *Pratishṭhān*, October 1970.
41. N. H. Phadke, *Leelāvati Pundarashan*, pp. 6-17.
42. *Ibid.*
43. H.S. Thosar, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Marathwada* (Unpublished thesis), p. 165, MU.
44. Yazdani, *EHD., op. cit.*, p. 460.
45. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10.
46. *Samśodhana Muktāvali, op. cit.*

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47. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-11.
48. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 29, *ASWI.*, Vol. V, p. 88.
49. Ajanta, *op. cit.*
50. Thosar and Pathy, "*The Bhindhon Plates of Mahārāshṭrakūta Karkaṛāja*", *Pratishthan*, July-August, 1978, pp. 27-31.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
53. Dr. Altekar has questioned the genuineness of the Multai Plates (Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 7), whereas Dr. Mirashi has dismissed the Tiwarkhed plates as a spurious document (*E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, 1-11). But still the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha which is the content of this record has been accepted as historical fact.
54. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
55. Yazdani, *EHD.*, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
56. *E.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 193-98.
57. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-76.
58. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
59. R.C. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 194.
60. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
61. *The Classical Age*, p. 235.
62. Yazdani, *EHD.*, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
63. G.H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 8-11.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 111ff.
66. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
67. Yazdani, *EHD.*, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

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27

THE PROBLEM OF ṚIGVEDIC KHILAS AS RE-EXAMINED THROUGH ITS OWN GṚIHYA SŪTRAS

S. R. SEHGAL

The earliest editions of the *Ṛigveda Saṁhitā* had made stray efforts towards the solution of the problem of *Khilas* in their critical editions. Thus Drs. M. Müller (second edition, Oxford, 1890-92) and T. Aufrecht (second edition, Bonn, 1877) had published the text of the *Khilas* at the end of their editions recording 32 and 25 *Khilas* respectively. It was the Bombay edition in Śaka 1810-12 which for the first time published the wide range of *Khilas* namely *Nivids*, *Praisas*, *Puroruch* and *Kuntapas*. In 1940 Shri Satavalekar had further improved the text of the extant *Khilas*.

However, the consolidated attempt on the problem was made in 1906 by Dr. Phil. J. Scheftelowitz who had utilized the wealth of the findings of Prof. G. Bühler's unique Kashmir Ms. of the *Ṛigveda Saṁhitā*. His critical edition captioned '*Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*' contains the coordinated material on the subject. It records arbitrary marks of accentuation on some hymns which have been dropped in later editions. This has been stoutly rejected by Dr. V. B. Shastri in his Vedic Word-Concordances of *Saṁhitā* texts.

The Poona edition of the *Ṛigveda* has given the text of the *Khilas* at the end of the fourth volume of the *Ṛigveda* from pages 891 to 1001. It has recorded copious references from corresponding Vedic texts. It gives repeated allusions to the *Gṛihya* Sūtras of the *Āśvalāyana*[1] as well as *Śāṅkhāyana*[2] schools. However the editor has not paid due attention to the edition of the *Kauṣhītaka*[3] *Gṛihya Sūtra* which had already appeared in 1944. On page 891 the editor refers to this edition and it is not known how it has escaped his notice while recording comparative view of Vedic texts on these supplementary hymns. Not a single reference has been made to the text of the *Kaushītaka Gṛihya Sūtra*. Thus it is all the more important to note how much of the *Khila* text has been preserved in the *KGS*. Needless to say that the comparative study of this problem based on the three *RV. Gṛihya Sūtras* has been a desideratum. It may be stated here that the three texts of the *RV. Gṛihya Sūtras* have incorporated certain verses on the study of the ritual referring to *Khilas* by *Pratīkas*. Some verses of the *Khilas* have been alluded by *Sakala-pāṭha*, which shows the arbitrary nature of

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citations. In certain cases one text makes a reference by *Pratīka* while another alludes to it by *Sakala-pāṭha*. The defference may be due to the different schools but it proves beyond doubt that the very reference to *Sakala-pāṭha* means that the particular school did not treat *mantras* belonging to the *RV*. There are some verses where the three schools of the RV. represented by *SG*. *KG*. as well as *AG*. texts agree with one another and thus leave, no doubt, for a source in Non-*ṚV* texts. For example '*Ā te garbho*.....' is stated in *SG*. I, 19, 6 *KG* I, 12, 6 *AG* I, 13, 6 by *Sakala-pāṭha*. But Dr. Bühler's text in Kashmir Ms. described in his 'Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Mss' *BRAS*. 1877, pp. 35-6 treats it as supplementary !

Similarly *pumānsaṁ putraṁ janaya*... *SG* I, 19, 6 *KG* I, 12, 6 and *AG* I, 13, 6 (text of the *AG* does not directly state any allusion but Nārāyaṇa the commentator makes a reference to it in the *Sakala-pāṭha*) is read by *Sakala-pāṭha*. The *Khila* text treats it as integral part of the supplementary text. In the *Upanayana* rite all texts read '*Mama vrate hṛidayaṁ te dadāmi*...(*SG* II, 4, 1 *KG* II, 2, 14 *AG* I, 21, 7) by *Sakala-pāṭha*. Again in the *Goshṭha karma* all the three *sūtras* read the verse-*yāsāmūdhas* in full e.g. SG III, 9, 3 KG III, 5, 6 AG II, 10, 6). Dr. Apte however does not refer to it in his monograph 'Non-ṚV Mantras fubricated in the *A.G.S.* : Sources and Interpretation (Vide *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. III, Nos. 2-7 (1940-41).

In the *Sīmantonayana* rite *SG* I, 22, 7 states the verse *Dāśushē* '*Dhātā dadātu prajayā uta*...by *Sakala-pāṭha*. KG I, 14, 6 reads by two *Pratīkas* viz. '*Dhātā dadatu dāsushe* and '*Dhātā prajayā uta rāya ishē*' while *AG* I, 14, 8 refers to the verse by saying '*Dhātā dadātu dāsushe*' *iti dvābhyām*. Thus *KG* and *AG* agree nearly with each other but the *Sāṅkhāyana* school possibly does not treat it as belonging to the *RV* school. The *Khilānukramaṇī* as incorporated in Kashmir MS of the *RV* treats it as part of the *RV* reading it after *RV* II, 32. It may perhaps imply that upto the text of the *SG* these verses were not considered as part of the *RV* text. The *Sakala-pāṭha* in the *SG* conclusively proves that it is earlier to those of the *AG* and *KG*.

In the *Chūḍākarma* the texts of the SG I, 28, 9 as well as the *KG* I, 21, 8 state '*Tryāyushaṁ jamadagnēḥ*...' by *Sakala-pāṭha*. The verse is also read as integral part of the *Khilānu-kramaṇī*. In the *Daṇḍaniyama* rite *SG* states at II, 13, 5 two verses in full viz. *tvam-agnė vratabhṛichchha*...' *Vratāni bibhrad vratapā adābhyō*...while the *KG* reads at II, 8, 6 by *pratikas* viz. '*Tyam agnē vratabhṛichhuchiḥ ityētābhyām ṛigbhyām āhutirhutvā*'. The text of the *KG* presupposes these verses from the *RV*, the said *mantras* are read in the Kashmir MS. after *RV* X, 152, I.

But there are certain cases where all these schools read indentically e.g.

(I) '*Nejamesha prajāpate*' is stated in the *SG* I, 22, 7 *KG* I, 14, 6, 10, in the *Sīmantōnayana karma*. The recitation of the complete hymn is prescribed but *KG* prescribes twice the recitation of the *sūkta* in this context. The *Anukramaṇī* reads it in *RV* after X, 184, 1-3.

(II) '*Āyushyaṁ varchasyam SG* III, 1, 7, *KG* II, 1, 2 and *AG* III, 8, 21 is cited in the *Samāvartana karma*. The *Khilānukramaṇī* states it after *RV* X, 129.

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(III) *Tachchhaṁyō ā yriṇīmahē*' occurs in *SG* IV, 5, 9 *KG* III, 7, II and *AG* III, 5, 9 in the *Upākarmna* rite. The *Anukramaṇī* reads it at *RV*. X, 19, 5.

There are a few citations which occur in an individual school or two but find support in the *Anukramaṇī* e.g.

(I) '*Yenedam*' is only stated by the *KG* I, 1, 1 in the *Swādhyāya* rite but occurs in the *Anukramaṇī* after *RV*. X, 166.

(II) '*Pradhāryanyu madhuno ghṛtasya*' is quoted only by the *AG* III, 12, 14 in the *Rājasamnāhana* rite. This is stated in the *Anukramaṇī* after *RV*. VIII, 59.

(III) '*Yam ṛitvijo bahudhā kalpayantaḥ*' is cited by *AG* I, 23, 5 in the *Upanayana* by *pratika*. The *Anukramaṇī* reads it after *RV*. X, 88.

Notes and References

1. AG = *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtram*, Ānandāśrama Series, No. 105, 1937. A recent edition of 1976 by Dr. N.N. Sharma is not scholarly nor dependable. It makes no references to erlier editions nor to Apte's illuminating contributions on this *AG*.
2. SG = *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtram* by S.R. Sehgal. Published by the author, 1960.
3. KG = *Kaushītaka Gṛihya Sūtram* by Dr. T.R. Chintamani, University of Madras, 1944.

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28

IDENTIFICATION OF VINAŚANA AND SOME CONSEQUENTIAL OBSERVATIONS

O. P. Bharadwaj*

Medieval Sanskrit Lexicons[1] define Vinaśana as the place where the Ṛigvedic river Sarasvatī, identified with the present Ghaggar,[2] disappears in the sands or vanishes underground.

Although once a perennial river[3] the Sarasvatī was later reduced to a rainy season torrent which dries up in the sands of Rajasthan just beyond the boundary of Haryana. From the earliest times it was treated as the holiest of the holy among rivers and the Ṛigvedic poet not only defied it but also accorded to it the foremost place among goddesses in the epithet *Devītamā*.[4] The holiness of the river was naturally associated with the place of its disappearance also and Vinaśana came to be regarded among the foremost of the *tīrthas* of this country and commended specially for the performance of *Śrāddha* and for the commencement of the long *Sārasvata* and *Dārshadvata* sacrificial sessions.[5] Devala, quoted in the *Kṛityakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara[6] includes it among the noted *tīrthas* of the Sarasvatī. In the *Mahābhārata*[7] and the *Purāṇas*[8] also it finds mention at many places.

The earliest notice of Sarasvatī's disappearance in the desert however, goes back to the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*[9] which is considered the creative age of the sacrificial cult.[10] It is also mentioned in the *Kalpasūtras* which are chiefiy concerned with giving a succinct and systematic account of the Vedic sacrifices and customs prevalent at the time of their composition.[11] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[12] records an incident when the *Ṛishis* expelled Kavasha Ailūsha from a Soma sacrifice being performed on the Sarasvatī with the intention that he should die of thirst in the desert. The *Śatapaṭha Brāhmaṇa*[13] also contains a similar reference in the episode of another sacrifice performed by the gods in Kurukṣetra. Here the gods are said to have declared that the ant would gnaw the bow-string of Viṣṇu would be granted constant enjoyment of food and he would find water even in the desert. Evidently the venue of the sacrifice in both the cases was at or near the spot where the river had no water in it.

*110, Sector-24A, Chandigarh.

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The *Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa*[14] is more specific in naming Vinaśana as the place of consecration (*dīkshā*) for the *Sārasvata* and *Dārṣhadvata* sacrificial sessions which were to be performed while moving upstream along the river. It is, therefore wrong to say that the idea of Vinaśana or the drying up of the Sarasvatī corresponds to a later stage of the Epic Geography[15] or to a recent upheaval in the Himalayas around Mohammedan times.[16]

Before undertaking an examination of such references for ascertaining the geographical position of Vinaśana it deserves to be noted that as a place-name it did not always remain confined to a particular spot or locality and came to denote a region and even a whole Janapada.[17] The reason was that the site of disappearance of the river kept continuously shifting with gradually shortening course as the rainfall decreased on the lower Himalayan slopes.[18] According to O.H.K. Spate[19] the flow even now during rains normally ceases at Hanumangarh, occasionally extending for another 16 miles or so. This appears to find support from the *Mahābhārata*[20] which, immediately before mentioning Vinaśana, names a *tīrtha* called *Dīrghaṣattra* as the place where the gods, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Sīddhas* and *Ṛishis* commenced their long sacrificial sessions. As already noted this honour was reserved for Vinaśana in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūdras*. The apparent contradiction is easily resolved with the inference that when the site of Vinaśana had shifted upstream the sacrificial sessions for some time continued to be started from the earlier spot which having lost its real name, got the appellation of *Dīrghasattra* meaning "(the site of) long sacrificial session". The *Padmapurāṇa*[21] also reminds us of the same phenomenon when it locates the site of Vinaśana as far downstream as *Pushkarāraṇya*. So does Śrīdharasvāmī[22] (*c.* A.D. 1400) in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (i. 9.1) while locating Vinaśana in Kurukṣetra itself. There is however no doubt that during the age of composition of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūdras* at least, when the cult of sacrifice was at its climax, the name of Vinaśana stuck to one particular locality which almost constantly remained humming with all sorts of sacrificial activity. As we shall see it is possible to attempt a precise geographical identification of this site with the help of literary references and a most remarkable piece of evidence thrown up by Archaeology.

It would be more convenient to proceed from the general to the particular.

The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*[23] defines *Āryāvartta* as the country lying to the east of *Adarśana* (which is the same as Vinaśana) west of *Kālakavana*, south of the Himalayas and north of *Pāriyātra*. The *Vāśishṭha Dharmsūtra*[24] repeats the definition almost verbatim with *Adarśa* in place of *Adarśana*. So does the *Mahābhāshya* of Patāñjali.[25] In the *Manusmṛiti Kālakavana* is replaced with *Prayāga* while applying the same geographical definition to *Madhyadeśa* which is equated with *Āryāvartta*. This is repeated in the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra[27] and the *Kāvyamīmānsā* of Rājaśekhara[28] who also describes another more central region, which he calls *Antarvedī*, as lying between *Vinaśana* and *Prayāga* and *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*.[29] Purushottamadeva[30] equates Kurukṣetra with *Vinaśana* and *Śabdakalpadruma*[31] places it in the north-west of Hastināpura. The use of Vinaśana loosely in place of Kurukṣetra

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occurs even in the *Bhāgvatapurāṇa* where Bhīshma is said to have fallen in *Vinaśana*[32] and Balarāme mentioned as going to *Vinaśana* to forestall the mace-duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana.[33] Apparently it suggests the increasing importance of *Vinaśana*.

All these references, without exception place *Vinaśana* on the western limit of *Āryāvartta* or *Madhyadeśa*. The *Mahābhārata* also points to the same direction in locating it more precisely on the top of the desert.[34] It strengthens the idea further by placing the disappearance of the river short of the country of the *Śūdras* and *Ābhīras* as well as the *Nishādas*.[35] These tribes are generally taken as inhabiting the left bank of the Indus around the Uch-Khanpur region of Bahawalpur.[36] The *Śūdras* are identified with the *Sodrai* of the Greeks and they occupied northern Sind with contiguous portions of the Punjab (Mithankot area) and the Bhawalpur state below the confluence of the Punjab rivers.[37] The royal seat of the *Ābhīras* stood on the Indus.[38] The region called *Abiria* after them, in the *Periplus* of the *Erythrian Sea* comprised a portion of western Rajputana.[39] And the *Nishādas* according to Bühler, occupied the area around Bhatner.[40]

Generally speaking therefore, it would be correct to assign *Vinaśana* to the northern part of the Rajasthan desert.[41] Yet it is interesting to see how widely scholars can manage to differ even while not trying to be too specific.

To note some of the views in this regard S. K. Belvalkar[42] describes *Vinaśana* as the desert in Ambala and Sirhind while Wadia[43] calls it the sands of the Bikaner desert. Rahul Sānkrityāyana[44] locates it not far from tne confluence of the Chenab and the Sutlej and even the Indus. Nandolal Dey,[45] B. C. Law;[46] and D. C. Sircar[47] agree with Oldham[48] in placing it near Sirsa. Krishnan,[49] Godbole[50] and Saxena[51] follow the Ambala District Gazetteer[52] in identifying it with Bhatner which is the same as Hanumangarh. H. C. Raychaudhuri vaguely puts it near the tract in the lower Indus valley and western Rajputana while M. L. Bhargava[54] finds it somewhere above Sardargarh and probably at or about Suratgarh. The *Vedic Age*[55] like the *Vedic Index*[56] confines it to Patiala district and Indra[57] places it in the Khadal tract about the Derawar Fort in Cholistan Tehsil in Bhawalpur District in Pakistan.

Actually if we examine the available literary evidence closely we find little justification for such divergence of opinions.

According to the *Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa*[58] anyone undertaking a *Sārasvata* sacrificial session got initiated at *Vinaśana* and then moved upstream along the eastern bank of the Sarasvatī towards its source at *Plakshaprāsravaṇa* where the session was supposed to end followed by the *Avabhṛtha* or the lustral bath in the *Yamunā*. *En route* at the river's confluence with the *Dṛishadvatī* one crossed the latter to regain the eastern bank of the Sarasvatī for resuming one's advance upstream. Likewise for the *Dārshadvata* sacrificial session one was required to follow up from the point of the confluence the eastern bank of the *Dṛishadvatī* and ultimately to terminate the session after a lustral bath at *Triplakshāvaharaṇa* on the *Yamunā*. One was to

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consecrate one's fires at *Pariṇah* before starting upstream along the *Dṛishadvatī*. According to the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[59] *Pariṇah* was the name of a lake in the lower half of Kurukṣetra while the *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[60] takes it to represent 'risen ground'. The *Taittirīya Araṇyaka*[61] and the *Kātyāna Śrauta Sūtra*[62] appear to support the second view which is obviously more acceptable.

From this it becomes quite clear that *Vinaśana* was the site of disappearance of the combined stream of the two rivers and therefore naturally further downstream from the confluence rather than above it as wrongly suggested by Oldham[63] and some other scholars. This position is fully confirmed from the order of enumeration of *tīrthas* in the *Vanaparva*[64] of the *Māhābhārata* where the mention of *Vinaśana* is followed upstream by that of *Śaśayāna, Kumārakoṭi, Rudrakoṭi, Saṅgama* and *Kurukshetra*. Evidently the *Saṅgama* was considered the gate of *Kurukshetra* when equated with *Brahmāvarta* lying in the *Sarasvatī-Dṛishadvatī* doab.[65] We need not concern ourselves with other *tīrthas* named here but the location of *Vinaśana* a few stages below the confluence is left in no doubt.

At one place[66] the *Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa* gives the exact distance from *Vinaśana* to *Plakshaprāsravaṇa* as 40 *Āśvīnas* or 40 days' journey by horse which should make it possible to pinpoint the site once the identification of *Plakshāprāsravaṇa*[67] with the source of the Ghaggar around *Lavasa* reserved forest in Pacchad sub-division of district Nahan in Himachal Pradesh[68] is accepted. But it is not possible to exploit this information on account of the uncertainty about the connotation of the term *Āśvīna*[69] which literally denotes the distance covered by a horse in one day. While the *Atharvaveda*[70] makes it equal to 5 *Yojanas* Kauṭilya[71] puts it at 5, 7-2 or 10 *Yojanas* and Patañjali[72] at 4 or 8 *Yojanas* according to the quality and capacity of the horse. 4 *Krośas* or 9 miles make one *Yojana*[73] and going by the *Atharvaveda* one *Āśvīna* comes to $5 \times 9 = 45$ miles which should appear reasonable as the distance covered by a horse in one day. The snag however is that the total distance of 40 *Āśvīnas* multiplies to 1800 miles from the source of the Ghaggar to its disappearance in the Hanumangarh-Suratgarh tract which exceeds the actually measured distance of 290 miles[74] by far too big a margin to be of any help whatsoever.

A reference to old regional maps offers better hope. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India Atlas*[75] shows the confluence of the Ghaggar with an old dry bed of a river that could be none but the *Dṛishadvatī*, a couple of stages downstream from Hanumangarh and a little above Suratgarh. Another earlier map of the Punjab compiled officially in 1863[76] also marks the confluence around the same position with a welcome addition of the name of a village Malke Bhowri just on the site. This would suggest that the river disappeared in the sands a little below this village and somewhat short of Suratgarh which goes well with the conclusions reached above from literacy evidence.

It would be relevant at this stage to see if these literary sources make any mention of the event that led to the disappearance of the *Sarasvatī* which according to the *Ṛigveda* was the river par excellence, rushing down from the mountains right upto the ocean[77] with a tempestuous roar,[78] breaking and carrying down ridges of

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hills like lotus stems,[79] filling the realms of earth and the wide tract of the firmament,[80] superior to her companions,[81] surpassing all other rivers by her majesty[82] and glory,[83] fierce,[84] swiftest of the swift[85] mightiest of her class,[86] best of rivers,[87] best of mothers,[88] and even best of goddesses.[89] There is not a word in the *Ṛigveda* that could suggest any decline in this awe-inspiring grandeur of the sacred river. The *Atharvaveda*[90] however alludes to the great Deluge that took place in the time of Manu Vaivasvata in the reference to the "sliding down of the ship". Subsequently the Great Deluge is described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[91] and later in the *Mahābhārata*[92] and the *Purāṇas*[93] where the site of *Nāvaprabhramśana* finds mention as *Manoravasarpaṇa* and *Naubandhana* intended to represent the mountain peak where Manu tied his boat and first stepped on dry soil after the calamitous event.

There is reason to conclude that according to traditional belief it was the Great Deluge that led to the disappearance of the Sarasvatī in the sands as a result of diversion of its waters and loss of its catchment area. The *Purāṇas*[94] describe the conveying of *Agni-Vaḍavānala* to the western ocean at the instance of God Brahmā by his daughter Sarasvatī who flowed underground and surfaced only when she felt exhausted on account of the unbearable heat.[95] In one case this fire was created by *Ṛishi* Pippalāda for destruction of gods who had utilised the bones of his father Dadhīci for manufacturing weapons for killing the demons.[96] Emerging from *Plaksha* on the Himālaya, Sarasvatī is obstructed on its way by a mountain wanting to marry her forcibly. Under the pretext of taking bath before the ceremony Sarasvatī entrusts the fire to the mountain which is immediately burnt down by it.[97] This is said to have happened in the *Chākshusha Manvantara*.[98] Again in the *Vaivaśvata Manvantara* the same fire is born as Aurvānala to a woman belonging to the tribe of the *Bhṛigus* who were attacked and plundered by Kshatriyas. The woman was pregnant and escaped concealing the foetus in her thigh (*Ūru*) which gave the name *Aurvānala* to the fire that started consuming the earth immediately on its emergence.[99] According to another version the woman gave birth to *Ṛishi* Aurva who created the fire which was named after him. The fire created for destruction of the Haihaya Kshatriyas who had indulged in large scale slaughter of the Bhṛigus was however confined to the ocean by Sarasvatī.[100] Sarasvatī is said to have conveyed *Aurvānala* in a golden pitcher and taking its rise at *Pippalādāśrama* in the Himalayas it flowed westward reaching *Kedāra* where it pierced the earth's crust to go underground burning with the fire in her hands.[101] It broke forth again at *Bhūtiśvara* after passing the evil region and then flowed towards *Prabhāsa* passing through *Śrīkaṇṭhadeśa*, *Kurukshetra*, *Virāṭanagara*, *Gopāyanagiri*, *Kharjūrīvana*, *Mārkaṇḍāśrama* and *Arbudāraṇya*, etc.[102] The *Skandapurāṇa* predicts the birth of another *Vaḍavānala* at the end of the current *Manvantara*[103] and thus implies a connection between *Vaḍavānala* and the Deluge that is traditionally associated with the end of a *Manvantara*.

Although the *Vaḍavānala* episode is related in several versions in different sources[104] its essential features do not suffer any serious change. Some interesting points deserve special notice here. Firstly the river *Sarasvatī* which conveyed the fire to the western ocean flowed through the country of *Kurukshetra* which is speci-

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fically mentioned along with *Śrīkaṇṭhadeśa* which comprised its northern part[105] and *Virāṭanagara* which lay to its southwest near Jaipur.[106] Secondly the *Bhṛigus*, with whom *Aurvānala* is associated, occupied the lower part of *Kurukshetra* in ancient times as the tradition of construction of five pools with the blood of the cruel Kshatriyas at Rāmahrada, present Ram Rai near Jind, by Paraśurāma suggests.[107] Thirdly the text mentions the emergence of the burning *Aurva* after a violent eruption in *Kurudeśa*[108] which is most befitting because while the concealment of the foetus in or its birth from the thigh (*Ūru*) is obviously mythical the emergence of one of the *Bhṛigus*, after lying low for some time in *Kurudeśa*, to avenge the slaughter of his people is most natural. The hoary antiquity and commonness of the venue of the two events is undoubtedly the only explanation of the introduction of the *Bhṛigus* in the *Vaḍavānala* episode. And finally the upheaval was volcanic in nature that engulfed *Kurudeśa* and the mountain range to its north and drastically tampered with the source and course of the *Sarasvatī* which flowed red with the rubble thrown up and carried down in the process. All this finds expression in another form in the story of the *Sarasvatī* carrying bloody water[109] or water mixed with blood for a complete year[110] as a result of the curse of Viśvāmitra who felt annoyed on her failure to deliver *Ṛishi Vaśishṭha* to him. Now significantly it was not the real Sarasvatī that flowed with blood but her own other self named *Aruṇā* in the *Mahābhārata*[111] and *Āgneyī* earlier in *Rāmāyaṇā*.[112] This Aruṇā has been identified with the present Run river[113] which was at one time the main branch of the river Markanda that crosses the G.T. Road near the town of Shahbad in district Kurukshetra about 12 miles from Ambala.[114] Markanda or *Aruṇā* was one of the rivers that gained from the diversion of Sarasvatī's waters and most probably it emerged in the process as an entirely new river. This is undoubtedly the meaning of the Sarasvatī following *Ṛishi* Mārkaṇḍeya[115] who had, with his own eyes, witnessed the Great Deluge in the age of *Manu Vaivaśvata*.[116] This reference also clearly connects the diversion of Sarasvatī's waters with the Great Deluge. The Thanesar *Sarasvatī* and the *Sambhramatī* or the present Somb torrent meeting the Western Jamuna Canal at Dodupur Canal works were the other rivers that shared Sarasvatī's diverted waters,[117] a large portion of which probably started flowing eastward into the Yamunā also through rivers like the Giri.[118] That is why the Aruṇā-Markanda remained only a rainy season torrent and with the increase in the importance of the town of *Sthāṇvīsvara*, also called Kurukṣhetra, the name Sarasvatī was appropriated by the insignificant stream flowing by its side as its common name *Prāchī Sarasvatī* shows.[119] The event, probably a large scale tectonic-seismic upheaval, rightly described as the Deluge, was indeed so gigantic in proportions that it wrought serious changes in the topography of the Shiwaliks between the Yamunā and the Ravi and effected the whole of the region along the Sarasvatī lying between the Himalayas beyond Nahan on one side and the Rajasthan desert on the other. That this event led to the disappearance of the Sarasvatī is specifically implied in the statement that the river vanished underground on account of the *Vaḍavānala*[120] which it was made to carry to the ocean.

The story of *Tripuradāha*[121] by God Śiva also appears to rise from the same

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background. Here the firy missile shot by the great god burns down *Tripura* with all its *Asura* population and dumps it into the Western Ocean.[122] It was the Sarasvatī that provided the track for his chariot.[123] The great magnitude of destruction is implied in the suggestion that *Tripura* actually represented not one but a complex of three prosperous *Asura* cities.[124]

Yet another episode in *Mahābhārata*,[125] in which the Great Deluge appears to find an echo is that of sage Utathya who drinks off the entire water of the ocean on *Varuṇa's* refusal to return his bride Bhadrā whom the god had forcibly abducted. The country is reduced to a desert and Utathya asks the Sarasvatī to go invisible into it so that, forsaken by her, it becomes inauspicious.

The above analysis of the literary evidence bearing upon the causes of the disappearance of the *Sarasvatī* and the location of the site of *Vinaśana* enables us to set down the attributes that we may expect to meet in the spot deserving of identification with it. These attributes would be (i) location on the eastern bank of the river below the confluence of the *Sarasvatī* with the *Dṛishadvatī* about the upper end of the desert, (ii) evidence of sacrificial activity, and (iii) signs of the occurrence of a seismic-tectonic-volcanic upheaval antecedent to the occupation of the site.

By a remarkable coincidence archaeological excavations in the region relevant to our enquiries have thrown up a site answering to all these requirements. We are referring to the pre-historic site of Kalibangan situated 29°.25′ N and 74°.5′ E some 310 kms. north-west of Delhi amidst the rolling sand-dunes of northern Rajasthan in the district of Ganganagar. Pilibangan, roughly lying midway between Hanumangarh and Suratgarh[126] on the northern railway, is the nearest railway station. Kalibangan is on the eastern bank of the Ghaggar about the northern end of the Rajasthan. desert a few miles below the village of Malke Bhowri where the *Sarasvatī* and *Dṛishadvatī* meet. Excavations at the site were carried out by a very competent team consisting of senior officers of the Archaeological Survey of India, including J.P. Joshi and led by B.K. Thapar and B.B. Lal.[127] Although a full length report of the excavations is yet to come out, both Thapar[128] and Lal[129] have published separate accounts of the findings which generally agree in details. We reproduce the relevant portion from Prof. Lal's articles.

> The two periods of occupation identified at Kalibangan were named I and II from the bottom upwards. Period I represents the Proto-Harappan or Early Harappan and Period II the Harappan culture. The settlement relating to Period II was in the metropolitan style with two clearcut parts : a citadel to the west and a lower town to the east. The Citadel Complex is further divisible into two equal parts, southern and northern, each forming a rhomb on plan and both fortified by a bipartite wall in between.

There are two entrances to the southern rhomb, one each from the south and the north. These were either stepped or ramped, which shows that vehicular traffic was forbidden from entering the rhomb because the buildings that lay inside were

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essentially of a religious or ritualistic kind and thus out of reverence the people were expected to walk within the campus and not ride about.

There were several mud-brick platforms, oriented along the cardinal directions, on each of which there stood a special structure. Although much of these structures has been denuded ever the mellennia by nature and man alike, there still remains enough to give an idea of the use to which they were put. Thus, atop one of the platforms there lay a series of even 'fire-altars' in a row.[130] Behind these fire altars ran a well in the north-south direction, which shows that people had to face the east[131] while performing rituals at these altars. The altars were oblong on plan, sunk into the ground and lined with clay. Each of them contained a central stele of baked clay around which lay ash and charcoal. Fragments of biconvex terracotta cakes were also obtained from the series of altars while elsewhere at the site, the fire altars contained them in sufficient numbers showing that they formed some kind of an offering. To the west of these fire-altars lay embedded the lower half of a jar containing ash and charcoal[132] which was evidently connected with use of the fire-altars. Within a few metres of these altars were a well and a few bath pavements suggesting ablutions before the performance of the ritual—a tradition still in vogue in India amongst the Hindus.

On another plateform lay, besides a well and a 'fire-altar' a large 'burnt-brick-lined' pit containing antlers and bevine bones providing evidence of animal sacrifice.[133] This idea is strengthened from the engravings on the two sides of a terracotta cake. The figure on one side, on the basis of the crown, appears to be that of a deity while on the other side is an animal tied with a rope which is held by a human figure. May be this was how the animal was led to the sacrificial altar.

These plateforms were separated, one from the other, by passageways through which flowed burnt-brick drains. There were no such drains in the town site. This shows that special care was bestowed on the cleanliness of this area, so that water emanating from the ritual baths did not make the passage slushy. The platforms were also separated from the fortification walls. Thus, one could move around the former if one wished to do so. Access to the top of the platforms was had by means of steps/ramps some remnants of which were ascertainable.

Besides, there was another area (KLB-3) which was used exclusively for fire-altars. It lay about 80 yards to the east of the Lower Town. Though this complex had largely been eroded, a large room with four to five altars was duly identified.

There is also evidence to suggest that the Kalibanganite set apart a room for performance of the ritual individually in his own house too.

The fire-altars found within the Citadel Complex may have been used for congregational ritual or by some privileged people while others used the unfortified and less ostentatious place in KLB-3. Alternately the KLB-3 Complex may have come up at a time when the Citadel Complex was on the Wane, towards the last days of Kalibangan".

These facts speak for themselves and leave us in no doubt about popularity of

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the cult of sacrifice among the Harappan Kallibanganites. It was undoubtedly a part of their daily life. It is however not necessary to assume that the fire-altars within the Citadel Complex were used for congregational rituals or by privileged people or that the KLB-3 Complex came up towards the last days of Kalibangan. We are of the view that both the sets of fire-altars were used by people embarking upon the performance of sattras and the KLB-3 Complex probably came up later when the Citadel set was found insufficient for the growing number or *Yajamānas*. Nor is it necessary to attach too much importance to the text-prescribed size and structure of the altars which were probably strictly adhered toonly in case of very important sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya* etc. As Dr. Kane observes although the construction of the fire-altars in five layers is an '*aṅga*' of '*Somayāga*', *chayana* or the piling of the fire-altars was not obligatory in every sacrifice.[134] This is clearly suggested by statements in the Vedic texts themselves. The *Taittirīya Samhitā*,[135] for instance says that 'All this earth is the *Vedī*, but they measure off a sacrifice on so much as they deem they can use.' The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[136] also emphasises that "if one secures learned and skilful priests it does not matter what kind of sacrificial ground one selects". Even in the *Ṛigveda*,[137] much earlier of course, the quadrangular altar is referred to as : *Chatush-kapardā supēśā ghṛita-pratīkā vayunāni vaste ..... yatra devā dadhire bhāgadheyam*. According to Petdar[138] '*Vayunāni vaste* suggests that the mode of shaping or decorating etc. of the *Vedī* was supposed to be changing from time to time or may be from region to region. According to an anecdote in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[139] when the gods failed to attain immortality by performing various sacrifices they started constructing fire-altars with bricks of different sizes. Still they did not attain immortality. Then they approached *Prajāpati* who said to them, "Ye do not lay down (put on me) all my forms but ye either make me too large or leave me defective; therefore ye do not become immortal". This appears to point to the late beginning of the practice that restricted bricks to a fixed number and the altar to a fixed size before which there were no restrictions on the size or structure of the Vedī.

It is interesting to note that the *sattras* were to be performed by many sacrificers in groups. According to a text quoted by *Śabara* on *Jai.* vi. 2.1, the persons who engaged together in a sattra were to be at least 17 and not more than 24.[140] Such a stipulation was eminently justified in case of *Yātsattras* in view of the dangers and difficulties which must have befallen those performing *Sārasvata* and *Dārshadvata sattras* upstream along the two rivers while passing through jungles infested by all sorts of predators and thieves and robbers. The hazards involved must have been formidable because no priests were prepared to accompany the sacrificers who were therefore necessarily to be *Brāhmaṇas* so as to be able to act as priests for themselves.[141] Indeed instances of a performer dying after *Dikshā* on the way were not unknown as is evident from the provision that in such a case the son or the other very near relative was to be given *Dīkshā* and associated in the *sattra*.[142] This explains the existence of many fire-altars at Kalibangan. And it is anybody's guess how many more of them might have been in the KLB-3 Complex which had largely been eroded.

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Let us now return to the excavators' remarks on the end of the pre-Harappan or Period I Kalibangan settlement. Prof. Lal[143] says that at several places in the trenches was observed cleavage-cum-displacement of the strata and walls, which evidently was the result of some earth movement. He considers it most likely that the site was deserted because of an earthquake. Also in his view the occupation of Period II did not come into being immediately after the end of Period I but about 200 years later. Thapar[144] also subscribes to this view and adds that during the time the site remained abandoned a thin layer of sand, largely infertile and wind-blow accumulated over the ruins.

Nor more observations upon the extent or intensity of the seismic activity that destroyed the Pre-Harappan phase of Kalibangan are available but whatever has been said is enough to justify the conclusion that it came in the form of a catastrophic earthquake probably accompanied by strong volcanic eruptions, that rendered the country uninhabitable for a couple of centuries and must inevitably have involved terrible damage to life and property. Nor is there any reason to believe that its impact was confined to the region of Kalibangan. Prof. Lal himself admits elsewhere[145] the possibility of a tectonic movement involving the divide between the Indus and Gaṅgā systems and accounting for the drying up of the Ghaggar as a result of the diversion of some of its tributaries to the Yamunā as well as for the discovery of the water-laid deposits of Ochre Ware preceding the painted Grey Ware at the archaeological sites like Hastināpura, Ahichhatrā, Bahadarabad, Nasirpur, Jhinjhina and Atranjikhera in the Gaṅgā basin. However instead of identifying this tectonic movement with the seismic activity that hit the Pre-Harappan Kalibangan around 3000 B.C. as indicated by the evidence examined above he confines it to the region of the source of these rivers where the Ghaggar and Yamunā basins come close to each other and places it about the first half of the second millennium B.C. so as to synchronise with the desertion of the site of Harappan Kalibangan as a result of the drying up of the Ghaggar and with the supposed later date of the Gaṅgā basin O.C.W sites. It looks rather improbable that a tectonic movement involving the expansive divide between the Indus and the Gaṅgā systems should have been confined only to the region of their sources. It is also to be remembered that literary evidence supports fierce seismic-tectonic-volcanic activity extensively involving the long course of the river Sarasvatī and its valley and not the Gaṅgā system which hasn't thrown up any positive proof of widespread seismic upheaval like the one that destroyed Pre-Harappan Kalibangan. Neither are the courses of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā reported to have suffered any major changes at any stage in their known history.

Wheeler's sensational theory of destruction of Harappa and Mohenjodaro by the savage Aryaṅ hordos of India is no more taken seriously.[146] It was indeed as far back as in 1940 that M.R. Sahni noticed silt deposits perched many feet above the level of the Indus plain near the city of Hyderabad and suggested the destruction of these cities as a result of serious floods caused by major tectonic upheavals.[147] His view gathered support in only 1960 when a field party of the Pennsylvania

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University Museum undertook an archaeological survey of the Arabian coast of West Pakistan and discovered settlements of the Harappan era that had clearly been sea-ports but were now located as far as thirty miles inland showing clearly that the coast-line has risen considerably during the past 4000 years, with the initial rise apparently having occurred during the Harappan period.[148] It is interesting to note that in his extensive surveys conducted in the same year in southern Baluchistan and the lower Indus Raikes[149] also reports a marked coastal uplift along the northern flank of the Arabian sea about the Harappan times which according to him, might have been more extensive so as to cover even the Indus Valley. Raikes[150] asserts that the uplift, accompanied by more or less violent earthquake shocks, would not only have caused destruction of cities and settlements but would have disrupted the system of river and coast-wise communication on which the commercial life of the culture must have largely depended. And this event, as he pertinently observes,[151] may have occurred hundreds of thousands of years ago or merely a few thousand years, and it must be admitted that some of the geologists consulted on the subject tend to think in terms of hundreds of thousands of years which he ascribes to a certain reluctance on their part to consider anything more recent than 20,000 years old as geology. The view of Raikes is supported by a number of scholars[152] and this makes it quite safe to accept the possibility of the occurrence of this event around 3000 B.C.[153]

Although Raikes suspects Sehwan, some 90 miles down-stream from Mohan-jodaro, to be the most probable area of tectonic disturbance Lambriok[154] believes that an avulsion and major change of course by the Indus took place considerably upstream of Mohenjodaro. On the other hand geological evidence of large scale rock-faulting in the region[155] justifies the suggestion that these earth-movements also embraced the region further north-east to the Simla foothills across the Thar and the Indo-Gangetic divide[156] and upraised the entire bed of the Sarasvatī and the floor of the sea of its confluence.[157] They might indeed be even more wide-spread because Sir Leonard Woolley[158] also found at Ur in Mesopotamia indubitable proof of a flood which must have engulfed all the cities in the delta sometime before 3000 B.C. The significance of the synchronism and of the identical nature of the event can hardly be ever emphasised and it is no more possible to dismiss the story of the Great Flood as a myth now that its literary evidence finds full support in the concrete testimony of independent archaeological discoveries at different places.

The combined effect of all this evidence makes it appear most probable that the earth-movements postulated by Lal and Raikes were caused during the same fierce seismic-tectonic-volcanic upheaval in the north that, according to literary sources, wrought extensive changes in the topography of the Shiwalik belt between the Yamunā and Ravi resulting in the diversion of the waters of the Sarasvatī leading to its ultimate drying up around *Vinaśana*. The connection of the event that destroyed the pre-Harappan settlement at Kalibangan with the Deluge of Manu *Vaivasvata* is thus too striking to be taken lightly.

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The location of Kalibangan therefore satisfies all the attributes that we set out to find in the site of Vinaśana. It is located at the eastern bank of Sarasvatī below its confluence with the *Dṛishadvatī* about the upper end of the desert of Rajasthan. And it also provides ample evidence of sacrificial activity as well as of the occurrence of a fierce seismic-tectonic upheaval actecedent to the occupation of the site. Only linguistically there is nothing common between the names Kalibangan and *Vinaśana*. This however is not material to the conclusion justified by weighty geographical and historical factors in view of the fact that the name of Kalibangan, meaning 'block bangles', is obviously of recent origin, apparently given to the place on account of scattered prehistoric remains abounding in bangle-pieces after the old name was lost and forgotten.

Now during their long and arduous upstream march along the Sarasvatī and *Dṛishadvatī* the sacrificers stopped at convenient points some of which, like *Vinaśana*, must have developed sacrificial complexes having paved fire-altars.[159] Discovery of further evidence of sacrificial activity, similar to that found at Kalibangan and assignable to the same date will therefore certainly strengthen the proposed identification of *Vinaśana*. Unfortunately the shape and structure of a 5000 year old fire-altar would be so akin to the mutilated flooring of a room that it might easily go undetected unless found in a condition good enough to command easy attention. Although sites situated so far apart as Kalibangan and Lothal[160] have yielded evidence of popularity of the fire-cult with the Harappans it depends on sheer chance that the area selected for excavation should turn out to contain spots or structures used for religious purposes. Absence of fire altars or some other evidence of sacrificial activity would not therefore justify a conclusion that it did not exist at a particular site. As it is, we are rather fortunately placed in this respect in case of sites along the *Sarasvatī* and *Dṛishadvatī*. Known for its turbulence and fury from the earliest times the Sarasvatī-Ghaggar appears to have obliterated all traces of most of the pre-historic settlements that fell within the reach of its unrestrained flood-waters. Of the few that have survived only Banawali and Chandigarh have been subjected to the archaeologist's probing knife. Comparatively the Dṛṣadvatī has spared a much more impressive group of sites including Kārotī, Sothi, Mitathal, Siswal and Rakhigashi which have been explored/excavated. Majority of these sites do appear to answer to our requirement in one way or the other. At Chandigarh,[161] despite devastating inundation, the lower levels show signs of living floors containing circular pits and fire-scarred patches which might have represented household altars for daily sacrifice. Mitathal[162] and Siswal[163] have yielded terracotta triangular cakes so typical of the Harappan culture and usually associated with rituals. They were possibly used as *piṇḍas* at *Śrāddha* which would testify to the important position of these sites as *tīrthas*. Most interesting evidence however, comes from Kārotī and Rakhigarhi. The former is one of the few Vedic sites of undoubted identity[164] that appears in the age of the *Brāhamṇas* as a seat of the fire-cult par excellence.[165] In the Śatapatha *Brāhmaṇa* (ix. 5.2.15)[166] *Śāṇḍilya*, the principal authority on the

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building of altars for the sacred fires,[167] specifically describes it as the place where the sage Tura *Kāvaṣheya* made a fire-altar for the gods. Situated 29° 10′ N by 74° 50′ E[168] about 5 kms. to the south-east of Sothi it falls on the left side of the old *Dṛishadvatī* bed and has been explored to reveal remains of Pre-Harappan and Harappan material including terracotta cakes.[169] Rakhigarhi, also known Rakhi Shahpur, lying 29° 16′ N by 76° 10′ E again on the dry bed of the same river in Hansi tehsil of district Hissar, 190 kms. east of Kalibangan,[170] is supposed to be the most extensive of the known Harappan sites in India and deemed worthy of being considered as a possible eastern-most capital of the Harappans.[171] Like Kalibangan and Lothal this important site has also revealed fire-altars which would have gone unnoticed but for a chance visit by B.B. Lal.[172] Its first specific mention in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, thus comes as a most valuable confirmation of the performance of *sattras* as described in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śrautasūtras* at the Harappan settlements along the Sarasvatī and *Dṛishadvatī*.

This conclusion provides us with a reliable sheet anchor for fixing the age of the composition of some important classes of Vedic literature.

Following dates have been assigned to the two levels of settlements excavated at Kalibangan on the basis of C^{14} readings :

Period I—Pre-Harappan

	Uncorrected	Corrected after Dates[173]	Corrected after Ralph Michael & Han[174]
Lal	2400-2250	2950-2800	2930/2960-2700/2820
Thapar	2450-2300	3000-2850	2970/2990-2850/2870
	Period II—Harappan		
Lal	2200-1700	2700-1900	2630/2670-2060
Thapar	2300-1750	2850-1950	2850/2870-2110

Keeping in view the fact that the C^{14} dating method is not yet considered entirely fool-proof[175] one cannot afford to be dogmatic about these date-brackets. However even if they are taken at their face value one safely can place the end of the Pre-Harappan phase around 3000 B.C. at the latest,[176] as a result of the Great Deluge that took place in the time of *Manu Vaivasvata*.[177]

Actually at this point of time it appears that this date may have to be pushed back further. It is now accepted by no less an authority than H.D. Sankalia[178] that

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the Pre-Harappan or Hakrans (whom we associate with the Ṛigvedic culture) had a sense of town planning, built with moulded and kiln-baked bricks and made a distinctive pottery. M. R. Mughal[179] has found 23 sites of this "Hakra assemblage or complex" and dates it to c. 3500 B. C. warranting a conclusion that "the Hakra or the Vedic Sarasvatī Culture would be the earliest in North-Western India".[180] Now giving about 200 years for the gap between the Deluge and the re-emergence of settlement at Kalibangan we can put the beginning of the Harappan phase at 2800 B.C. and its end around 2100 B.C. Allowing a couple of centuries for the development of the sacrificial cult in its Brāhmaṇic details the appearance of *Vinaśana* as an important religious centre should have taken place by 2500 B.C. at the latest.

Application of these dates to the works falling in the category of Vedic literature leads to interesting results. Being mostly ante-Deluvian the *Ṛigveda* has to be placed anterior to 3000 B.C. which becomes the lower age limit. It is not possible to fix any upper age limit. The *Ṛigveda* would thus represent a pre-Harappan civilisation. The *Atharvaveda* and the other *Samhitās* were probably compiled/composed not long after the Deluge and might have come into existence by 2700 B.C.[181] in the early period of the Harappan phase. The *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* should follow suit because while they know about the disappearance of the *Sarasvatī* they do not mention *Vinaśana* by name. The composition of the remaining *Brāhmaṇas* led by the *Pañchavimśa* can be assigned to the middle of the Harappan phase and that of the *Āraṇyakas*, *Upanishads* and *Śrauta sūtras* to its final stage (ending around 2000 B.C.) and thereafter.

We may close with the observation that the age assigned to the *Ṛigveda* above appears to be moving closer to the postulates of Tilak[182] and Jacobi[183] on the basis of evidence which is at once independent and reliable and being taken into account for the first time.[184]

Notes and References

1. *Śabdakalpadruma*, Delhi, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 400 :
   Vinaśyati antardadhāti Sarasvatī atra |
2. Spate O.H.K. Others, *India, Pakistan and Ceylon* :
   The Regions, 3rd ed. London, 1972, p. 536. According to Sir Aurel Stein (*A Survey of Ancient sites along the 'Lost' Sarasvatī River.* The Geographical Journal, Vol. XCIX, January, June 1942, p. 176) the dry bed of the Ghaggar-Hakra river in Bikaner territory, over more than 100 miles, is no where less than 2 miles and at places 4 miles or more which has given rise to popular legends and local belief that this bed was once the course of a mighty river. This agrees with the description of the Sarasvatī in the *Ṛigveda* as will be noticed *infra*. S.N. Roy's view that the original Sarasvatī existed in Puṣkara and not in Kurukshetra is utterly untenable. For fresh material confirming this identification see Bharadwaj, O.P., *Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Vālmīki*, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XVII, (1979), pp. 142-67. Also on Vedic Sarasvatī or Ghaggar as a great Himalayan river and Dṛishadvatī its major Himalayan tributary, see Bimal Ghose, Amar Kar and

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Zahid Hussain, Comparative Role of the Aravalli and the Himalayan River Systems in the Aluvial Sedimentation of the Rajasthan Desert, *Man and Environment*, Vol. IV, 1980, pp. 8-11.

3. *Cf.* Rayachaudhuri, H.C., *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 134.
4. *RV.* ii. 41.16.
5. These sessions were performed while moving upstream along the Sarasvatī over a long duration of time. Therefore they were called '*Yātsatras*', *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, ed. Sharma Vidyadhar, Kashi, V.S. 1987, 24.5.25 :
   yāt-satrāṇi sārasvatāni | Comm. *yātvā yātvā kriyante iti vā |*
6. Ed. Rangaswami Aiyangar, K.V., G.O.S. Baroda, 1942, p. 250 :
   Plaksha-prāsravaṇam Vṛiddha-kanyākaṁ sārasvatain Āditya-tīrthaṁ Kauberaṁ Vaijayantaṁ Pṛithūdakaṁ Naimishaṁ Vinaśanaṁ Vamśodbhedaṁ Prabhāsam-iti Sārasvatāni |
7. B.O.R.I. Text, *Vana*, 130.3 and Śalya, 36.1 etc.
8. e.g. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Gurumandal Series, Calcutta, 1963, 36.27; and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, ed. Jagdish Shastri, Delhi, 1973 ii. 3.13 69 etc.
9. *Cambridge History of India*, 3rd Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1968, Vol. I, p. 105.
10. Devasthali, G.V., *Religion and Mythology of the Brāhmaṇas*, Poona, 1965, p. 135.
11. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 1.2.
12. ii. 19; Also *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*, XII. 3.
13. XIV. 1.1.8.
14. Chaukhamba, Banares, 1936, Pt. ii. XXV. 10.1. *Āsvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, Anandashram Series, Poona, 1917 : vi. 6.i: and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* ed. Weber, A, Reprint, Varanasi. Also *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* XIII.29.1., *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, ed. Anandchandra, A.S.B. Calcutta, 1870. X.15.1. and *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, 1.1.2.10, etc.
15. Dwivedi, R.K., *The Sarasvatī Complex in the Mahābhārata*, K.C. Chattopadhyaya Memorial Vol. Allahabad, 1975, pp. 160-75.
16. Oldham, *The Sarasvatī and the Lost River of the Indian Desert*, J.R.A.S., 1893, Series 3, Vol. 25, pp. 116, 124 f. His view is shared by Ravarty, Bryson and Baerreis but rejected by others including Vishnu Mittre and V.M. Meher-Homji. See Meher-Homji, *The Thar Desert : Its climatic History, Man and Environment* Vol. iv, 1980, pp. 1-7.
17. *Kāśikā* on *Pāṇini* iv. 2.124 ed., Narayana Mishra, Varanasi, 1969, p. 352, where it is named *adarśa* in the example *ādarśakaḥ*.
18. It is said to have reached even upto Panjnad. See Wilson, J., *Final Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Siras District in the Punjab*, 1879-83, p. 5; *Skanda Purāṇa* (Nirnayasagar Press), Nāgara, Khaṇḍa, 164.39. appears to suggest that the flow of the river reached beyond the Sambhar lake in the reference to the setting up of the *Durga* on the bank of the Sarasvatī by Śākambharī, wife of Chaṇḍaśarmā :
   Śākambhar-īti vikhyātā bhāryy=āsīch-Chaṇḍa śarmaṇaḥ | Tayā sansthāpito durgo Sarasvatyā śubhe taṭe ||
   Devala, as we have already seen (n. 6. *supra*) mentions Prabhāsa as the last *tīrtha* on the river which is supported by Sarvagya-Nārāyaṇa in his gloss on *Manu*. xi. 77.
19. *Op. cit.*, p. 536.
20. *Śalya*, 10.116.
21. 1.18.247.
22. Cited by Raychaudhuri, H.C., *op. cit.*, p. 139.
23. i.2.10 : *Prāg-adarśanāt pratyak-kālaka vanād-dakshiṇena Himavantam udak Pāriyātram etad-Āryāvartam.*
24. See Kane, P.V., *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1941, Vol. ii, Pt. i, p. 13.
25. ii.4.10.
26. ii.21.
27. iii.17.
28. Ch.ii.

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29. Ch. xvii.
30. *Trikāṇḍaśesha* ii.1.14.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. iv, p. 400.
32. i.9.1.
33. X.79.23.
34. Vana, 80.118.
35. Śalya, 36.1; Vana, 130.3 and 4.
36. Ali, S.M., *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, Second ed. Delhi, 1973, p. 144.
37. Raychaudhuri, H.C., *Political History of Ancient India*, 7th ed., Calcutta, 1972, p. 227.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Law, B.C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., Poona, 1973, p. 63.
40. Mathur, V.K., *Aitihāsika Sthānāvali*, Delhi, 1969, p. 503.
41. This exactly is implied by its location on the top of the desert (*Maruprishṭha*) in the *Mahābhārata*, n. 33, *supra*.
42. Cited by Dwivedi, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
43. *Geology of India*, 4th ed., Reprint, Delhi, 1976, p. 368.
44. Vide *Ṛigvedic Ārya*, Allahabad, 1957, p. 8.
45. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd ed. Delhi, 1971, p. 131.
46. *Rivers of India*, Calcutta, p. 16.
47. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1971, p. 49.
48. *JRAS*, 1893, Series 3, Vol. 25, p. 52.
49. Quoted by Godbole, N.N., *Rigvedic Sarasvatī*, Jaipur, 1963, p. 18.
50. *Ibid.*, Intro. p. 1.
51. *Regional Geography of Vedic India*, Kanpur, 1976, p. 10.
52. Lahore, 1892, p. 7.
53. P.H.A.I., p. 481.
54. *The Geography of Ṛigvedic India*, Lucknow, 1964, p. 83.
55. Ed. Majumdar, R.C., London, 1951, p. 251.
56. Third Reprint, Delhi, 1967, Vol. II, p. 300.
57. *Lost Sarasvatī*, Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1967, 145-1.
58. XXV.10.
59. Ed. Raghuvira, Nagpur, 1954, ii. 300.
60. X.19.1.
61. V.i.i.
62. XXIV.6.32.
63. *Op. cit.*, pp. 113 and 120. He places *Vinaśana* near Sirsa and the confluence near Bhatnair, further down on the Ghagger. Y.D. Sharma also locates Saṅgama below Kalibangan. See *Proceedings of the Archaeological Congress and Seminar*, 1972, ed. Singh, U.V., Kurukshetra University, 1976, map on the back of p. 5. However, K.N. Dikshit (*A critical Review of the Pre-Harappan Cultures, Man and Environment*, Vol. iv, 1980, pp. 32-43) agrees with placing Kalibangan below the *Saṅgama* in the map on p. 33. So does H.D. Sankalia in his *Indian Archaeology Today*, Delhi, 1979, map, fig. 1 after p. 63.
64. 80.120-130 and 80.1.
65. After completing the description of *Saṅgama* in the last verse No. 133 of Ch. 80 of *Vanaparva* the *Mbh.* says in the first verse of ch. 81 :

    Tato gachchhet rājendra Kurukshetram-abhīshṭītam |
    Pāpebhyo .Vipramuchyante tad-gatāḥ sarva-jantavaḥ ||

66. XXV, 10.16.
67. Bharadwaj, O.P., *Plakshaprāsravaṇa*, Paper presented at the *A.I.O.C.*, Poona Session, 1978. The portion relating to identification was added later.
68. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, Simla, 1969, p. 11f.

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69. *Cf.* Khan, M.I., *Sarasvatī in Sanskrit Literature*, Ghaziabad, 1978, pp. 23f.
70. vi.131.3.
71. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Kangle, R.P., Bombay, 1970, Pt i, ii.30.90.....
72. *Mahābhāshya*, v. 3.55.
73. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 657 f.
74. Wilson, J., *op. cit.*, p. 3.
75. Oxford, 1909, Plate 32.
76. In 8 sheets office of The Surveyor General of India, Calcutta, 1866.
77. 7, 95.2.
78. *RV*, 6.61.8.
79. *Ibid.*, 6.61.2.
80. *Ibid.*, 6.61.11.
81. *Ibid.*, 7.95.4.
82. *Ibid.*, 7.95.1.
83. *Ibid.*, 6.61.13.
84. *Ibid.*, 6.61.7.
85. *Ibid.*, 6.61.13.
86. *Ibid.*, 7.96.1.
87. *Ibid.*, 2.41.16.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ath.* XIX. 39.8 : *Yatra nāva prabhraṅśanam yatra Himavataḥ śiraḥ*
91. *Śata.* i.8.1.1.....
92. *Vana*, 185.46-47.
93. *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, ed. Vreese, K.De, Leiden, 1936, vv. 41, 146 and 161.
94. E.g. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa*, 17.53.
95. *Ibid.*, 33.44. Also *cf.* Dave, S.K., *The Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, Vol. X, No. i, January, 1968, p. 74.
96. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa*, ch. 32.
97. *Ibid.*, 33.89.
98. *Ibid.*, 35.34.
99. *Ibid.*, 35.6.
100. *Ibid.*, 34.36.
101. *Ibid.*, 35.21-26.
102. *Ibid.*, 35.30-41.
103. *Ibid.*, 35.14.
104. See Siddheśvara Shastri Chitrav, *Prāchina Charit ra Kośa*, Poona, 1964, p. 105.
105. Its capital was Bilaspur 33 miles north-west of Saharanpur on the road to Ambala, see Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
107. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
108. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa*, 35.5. :

Kālāntare tato bhitvā Kurudeśam mahāprabhaḥ ī
Nirgat-ottaṅbhita śirā jwalad-āsyo=ti bhīshaṇaḥ ||

109. *Ibid.*, *Nāgara Khaṇḍa*, 172.13.
110. *Vāmana Purāṇa*, *Saromāhātmya*, 19.22.
111. Śalya, 42.24 (ii) : .....*Aruṇāyamānayāmāsa svām tanūm bharatar shabha*
112. Cred. Vaidya, P.L., Baroda, 1962, Vol. II, *Ayodhyā*, 62.10 ff. For equation of *Āgneyī* with *Aruṇā* see n. 113 *infra*.
113. Bharadwaj, O.P., *Sutlej to Gaṅgā with Vālmīki Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. xiv, Pt. ii (Sept. 1976), p. 197.
114. *Ambala District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1892-93, p. 6.

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115. *Vāmana Purāṇa* ed. Gupta, A.S., Varanasi, 1968, *Saromāhātmya* 11.23 :

Praty-uvācha mahātmānam Markaṇḍeyam mahā munim |
yatra tvam neshyase vipra tatra yāsyāmy-atandritā ||

116. *Mbh. Vana*, 186-87; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 12.8.

117. *Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara Khaṇḍa*, 173.9-14 : The episode described here is very significant as it apparently refers to the birth of the *Prāchī Sarasvatī* and the *Sāmbhramatī* at the same time as a result of seismic-tectonic upheaval in the region of *Sararvatī's* source :

Evam-uktvā sa viprarshiḥ (Vaśishṭhaḥ) avatīrya dharātale |
gataḥ plakshataruṁ yasmād-avatīrṇā Sarasvati || 9
Samādhim tatra saṁdhāya nivishṭo dharaṇītale |
sambhramaṁ paramaṁ gatvā Viśvāmitrasy ch-opari || 10
Randhra-dvayena viprendrā lochanābhyām nirikshaṇāt |
Ekasya salilaṁ kshipram yatra jātā Sarasvati || 12
Dvitīyas-tu pravāho yaḥ saṁbhramāt-tasya nirgatah |
sā cha Sāmbhramatī nāma nadī jātā dharātale || 14

118. It joins the Yamunā above Paonta at the village of Rampur ghat. Its unusual name and the legend of its miraculous birth suggests that it might have some connection with the Great Deluge. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, Simla, 1969, p. 9.

119. It was known as *Prāchī Sarasvatī* till as late as the 9th century A.D.; *cf.* Pehoa Inscription of Bhoj I of the Imperial Pratihāra Dynasty, *Epigraphia Indica*, 1.187, cited by Raychaudhuri, H.C., *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 129; Also see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 4.19.1. and *Vāmana Purāṇa*, 4.19.1 and *Vāmana Purāṇa, Saromāhātmya*, 21.19.

120. *Padma Purāṇa, Sṛshṭi*, 18, 198.

121. *Mbh. Karṇa*, ch. 24.

122. *Ibid.*, v. 120.

123. *Ibid.*, v. 75.

124. *Ibid.*, v. 14.

125. *Anuśāsana*, 139, 22-26.

126. It is, by rail, 26 kms. from Hanumangarh (29° 6′ N and 74° 30′ E) on the north, and 25 kms. from Suratgarh (29° 3′ N and 73° 8′ E) on the south.

127. For excavation notes see *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, p. 39; 1962-63, pp. 20 ff. and 1963-64, pp. 30 ff.

128. *Expedition*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 19-32; *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. Hammond Norman, London, 1973, p. 85 ff. *Ecology And Archaeology of Western India* ed. Aggarwal and Pande, Delhi, 1977, pp. 67-75; *Ancient Cities of the Indus* ed. Possehl, Delhi, 1979, pp. 196-203.

129. *A Cultural Forum* 34, Vol. ix, No. 4, July, 1967, pp. 78-88 (jointly with Thapar); *Kalibangan's Contribution to the Understanding of the Indus Civilisation, I.I.A.S.*, Simla, Nov. 2-7, 1977; *Essays in Indian Protohistory* ed. Agarwal and Chakravarti, Delhi, 1979, pp. 65-97.

130. *Yajñaśālā* or sacrificial chamber contained several altars on which sacred fires were established. It also provided for different places for the sacrificer, his wife and the officiating priest *cf.* Sharma, R.N., *Culture and Civilisation as revealed in the Śrauta sūtras*, Delhi, 1977, p. 207 f.

131. The *Vedī* was required to face the east, *Agni Purāṇa*, 34, 36.

132. The jar was evidently meant to serve the purpose of *Utkara* or the rubbish pit required to be on the western or lower end of the *Vedī*.

133. Traditional sacrifices were 21 in number, divided into three classes of seven each. Animal sacrifices were regarded as part of the two classes namely *Haviryajña and Paśubandha*. See Chaturvedi, Girdhar Sharma, *Vaidika Vijñāna Aur Bhāratīya Samskṛti*, Patna, 1960, p. 244, n. 2; and Philips Maurice, *The Teaching of the Vedas*, Reprint, Delhi, 1976, p. 192.

134. *H.O.D.* Vol. II, Pt. ii, p. 1247.

135. Vi.2.4.

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136. iii.1.1.5.
137. x.114.3.
138. Potdar, K.R., *Sacrifice in the Ṛigveda*, Bombay, 1953, p. 73.
139. x.4.3.6.
140. *H.O.D.* Vol. II, Pt. ii, p. 1241.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *Ibid.*, p. 1242.
143. 1979, p. 75.
144. 1973, p. 85 and 1979, p. 198.
145. *A Deluge? Which Deluge? Yet another Facet of Problem of the Copper Hoard Culture American Anthropologist*, Vol. 70, 1968, pp. 857-63; Abstracts reproduced in *Purātattva* No. 5, 1971-72, pp. 101-04. For opposition to the possibility of a Deluge in the Gaṅgā O.C.W. times see Sharma, R.P. in *Ecology and Archaeology of Western India*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 75-77. Sh. R.C. Aggarwal, Director, Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, informs us that O.C.W. sites in Rajasthan have been dated to 3000 B.C.
146. *Cf.* Raikes Robert, L., *The End of the Ancient Cities of the Indus*, reproduced in '*Ancient Cities of the Indus*' ed. Gregory, L., Possehl, Delhi, 1979, p. 298.
147. Dales George, F., *The Decline of the Harappans* roproduced in Possehl, p. 309.
148. *Ibid.*
149. *Op. cit.*, p. 302.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
152. *Ibid.*
153. Dales, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
154. Lambrick, H.T., "*The Indus Flood Plain and the Indus Civilisation*" reproduced in Possehl, p. 321.
155. Dales, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
156. Suraj Bhan, *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Jan., 1969, Vol. i, No. i, p. 10.
157. *Indras*, *op. cit.*, Preface p. iii. His dating of the event around 1500 B.C. cann't be accepted. Rao, S.R., Assigns the Flood to 1900 B.C. without giving any details of the evidence for his view. See *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*, Delhi, 1882, p. 306.
158. *Ur Excavations*, *The Early Period*, 1958, p. 18.
159. The *Sūtras* name several places like Prabhavyamarma at the confluence of the *Sarasvatī* and the *Dṛishadvatī*, *Naitandhava*, near the Sarasvatī and Kārapacava on the Yamunā apart from *Pariṇah*, *Plakshaprāsravaṇa* and *Vinaśana* in this connection but barring the last two none of these has been identified so far. See Ram Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
160. K.C. Jain, *Pre-history* and *Proto-history of India*, Delhi, 1979, p. 144,
161. R.S. Bisht in *Proceedings of the Archaeologial Congress and Seminar*, 1972, Ed. Singh Udai Vir, Kurukshetra, 1972, p. 19.
162. Suraj Bhan, *Excavation At Mitathal And Other Explorations in the Sutlej Yamunā Divide*, Kurukshetra, 1975, p. 66.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
164. O.P. Bharadwaj, *Identification of the Vedic Site Kāroti*, V.I.J.. 1981, Prof. Jagannath Agrawal Felicitation Vol., pp. 170-75.
165. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 151.
166. *atha ha sm-āha Saṇḍilyaḥ turo ha kāvasheyaḥ kārotyām devebhyo devebhyo=agnim chikaya*
167. Albrecht Weber, *The History of Indian Literature*, 7th ed., Varanasi, 1974, p. 120.
168. *Gazetter of India and Pakistan*, Delhi 1950, Vol. i, p. 596.
169. See Devendra Handa, "*Kārotī Kī Khoja*", *Maruśrī* Pt, I, No. 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1971), pp. 10-16 and Pt. I, No. 3 (Apr.-June 1972), pp. 25-30.
170. Suraj Bhan, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
171. *Ibid.*

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172. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
173. Dales, George F., on *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. Hammond Norman, London, 1973, p. 162 ff. and *in Ancient Cities of the Indus*, ed. Possehl Gregory, Delhi, 1979, pp. 332-38, p. 336.
174. Ralph E.K., Michael, H.N. and Han M., in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, pp. 339-42, Table 4.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 339. One of the basic assumptions of the C^{14} method namely the constancy of the atmosphere inventory of C^{14}, 02 is not strictly valid. For various reasons it has fluctuated during past times. Also *cf.* Ward Anne, *Adventures in Archaeology*, London, 1977, p. 15.
176. *The contention of Indras* (*op. cit.*, p. 52) that the decay of Sarasvatī had already set in before the advent of the Vedic people is unwarranted.
177. *Manu Vaivasvata* has been assigned to 4000 B.C. by Law, N.N., Age of the Ṛigveda, Calcutta, 1965, p. 143, and to 3000 B.C. by Bhargava, P.L., *India in the Vedic Age*, Lucknow, 1956, p. 133 and Pusalkar, A.D., *The Vedic Age*, London, 1951, p. 269. Who calculated it to 3110 B.C. The date 3000 B.C. which closely approaches the traditional beginning of the Kali Age in 3102 B.C. would appear to be more reasonable.
178. *Indian Archaeology Today*, Delhi, 1979, p. 88.
179. "*Four Years of Archaeological Discoveries in Cholistan*", Summary of Lecture, February, 1977, cited by Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
180. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
181. *Cf.* K.N. Sastri, New Delhi *On The Indus Civilisation*, Delhi, 1965, Vol. ii, p. 142. According to Sastri, conditions of life envisaged in the Atharvaveda are very much in accord with life under which people lived in the Indus Valley some 5000 years age while the *Ṛigveda* is much older than the Indus Civilisation.
182. Tilak first placed the Vedic period at about 4000 B.C. See *The Origin*, Poona, 1893, p. 220. Later in '*The Arctic Home in the Vedas*' (1903) he pushed it back to 5000 B.C.
183. According to Jacobi Vedic Civilisation flourished from 4500 B.C. to 2500 B.C. *Indian Antiquary*, June, 1894, p. 157.
184. For a fresh examination of the data on the composition of the *Ṛigveda* see Law, N.N., *op. cit.*, Law supports the views of Tilak and Jacobi, pp. 143 ff.

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29

ANTI-KARMA

Y. KRISHAN*

Even though the doctrine of *karma* came to command almost universal acceptance in Indian religions and schools of philosophy, it is not surprising that there were some dissenting teachers who strongly repudiated the existence of a moral law called *karman*. Their motto is summarised in the formula : *natthi kammam, natthi kiriyam, natthi viriyam* : there is no *karma* or action, no obligation, no effort. Another attitude to *karma* is to be found in the objective of a monk as recorded by Patanjali in his *Mahābhāshya* 6.1.154: *mā kṛita karma mā kṛita karmāṇi; śāntir vah śreyasī* : do not do any act (including *yajña karma*), perform no actions; inactivity is conducive to welfare.

In the *Brahmajālasutta*[1] of the *Dīghanikāya* I.34, the Buddha speaks of seven recluses and Brahmins who were annihilationists. They maintain that soul is made of four elements (water, earth, wind and fire), or mind, belongs to sensuous plane, infinite space or infinite consciousness etc. It is born of father and mother and "cut off, destroyed, on the dissolution of the body; and does not continue after death; and..... the soul is completely annihilated". The Jaina text *Sūtra Kṛitāṅga*[2] I.1.8-12 also refers to *anātmavādins* thus : Some hold that the five gross elements, *pañchamahābhūtas*; earth, water, fire, wind and ether, are the original cause of things; consciousness or *ātman* arises from them and thus ceases to exist on the dissolution of the five elements; there is no rebirth. "There is neither virtue nor vice, there is no world beyond; on the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be".

The *Kaṭha upanishad* I.1.20 also alludes to such a belief when Yama tells Nachiketā "There is this doubt in regard to a man who has departed, some (holding) that he is and some that he is not." The view that there is no soul, *pudgala ātmā*, which survives death, destroys the basis of rebirth or *punarjanma* and hence of *karma* which bear fruit in subsequent births.

There are, however, other teachers who directly repudiated the doctrine of

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ethical *karma* and *punarjanma* (rebirth). The *Sāmaññaphala sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*[3] II-17-23 and some Jaina texts especially the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[4] contains a summary of such views.

According to the *Sāmaññaphala sūtta Dīgha* II.17, Pūraṇa Kasapa maintained that there was neither virtuous nor evil conduct. In fact according to him, "..... he who destroys life, the thief, the house breaker, the plunderer ..... the adulterer and the liar ..... commit no sin". Charity, self-control, obstinence and honesty have no merit. Kasapa's doctrine is named *akiriyavāda* (non-action).

Makkhali Gosāla (*Dīgha* II.19), the leader of the *Ājīvika* sect maintained that transmigration or *punarjanma* depended on *niyati*, fate and not on one's deeds. According to the *Sāmaññaphala sutta*, he maintained "There is no deed performed either by oneself or by others (which can affect one's future births)..... There is no question of bringing unripe *karma* to fruition, nor of exhausting *karma* already ripened by virtuous conduct, by vows, by penances or by chastity. That cannot be done....." Gosāla said (*ibid.*) : *Sabbe sattā sabbe bhūtā sabbe jīvā avasā abalā aviriyā niyatisaṁgati bhāva pariṇatā*; all creatures, all beings, all animals are powerless, feeble, without energy and undergo change through *niyati*, fate.

Gosāla continues (*ibid.*) : *N'atthi attakare, n' atthi parakare n'atthi purisakare; n'atthi balam, n'atthi viriyam, n'atthi purisathamo, n'atthi purisaparakkama;* nothing depends either on one's efforts or on the efforts of others; in short nothing depends on any human efforts, for there is no such thing as power energy, human exertion or human strength.

In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 2.1.32, the doctrine of Fate is thus set out : "Movable or immovable things in all the four quarters thus (i.e. by the will of Fate) come to have a body, to undergo the vicissitudes of life, to lose their body, to arrive at some state of existence, to experience pleasure and pain."

In the *Upāsakadasāṅga*[5] *sūtra* 7.195-196 *niyativāda* (doctrine of Fate) is expounded in a dialogue; Mahāvīra asks Saddālaputta, a potter and an *Ājīvika*, whether his earthen vessels have been made by human effort and exertion or without human effort and exertion : *Kolala bhande kim utpāṇeṇaṁ jāva purisakkāra-parakkameṇam kajjanti udahu aṇuṭṭhāneṇam jāva apurisakkāra-parakkameṇam kajjanti* ? Saddālaputta replies : These vessels have been made without human effort and exertion; there is no such thing as effort or exertion; the occurrence of all things is fixed or pre-determined : *aṇuṭṭhaneṇam jāva apurisakkāra-parak kamenaṁ, nathi uṭṭathaṇē i vā jāva parakkamē i vā niyayā savvabhāva. 196.*

Gommaṭasāra[6] summarizes *niyativāda* in the following words :

Jattu jadā ieṇa jahā jassa ya niyamena hodi tattu tadā Tena tahā tassa have idi vādo niyadivādo du

Whatever thing, whenever, by whomsoever, in whatsover manner, and through the working of whatsoever, power to be, that, by that one, in that manner, and through that same power shall be : this view is the *niyati-vāda.*

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The *Yogavāśishṭha*[7] *Utpatti prakaraṇa, Sarga* 54.22 defines *niyati* as the evolution of consciousness at the time of primordial creation, being a continuous process which cannot be stopped nor arrested.

Ānandabodhendra[8] in his commentary (verse 6) on the *Vairāgya sarga* 26 of *Yogavāśishṭha* explains the word *niyati* as *kṛitasya karmaṇāh phalam avasyambhava niyamaḥ* : the law of the universe that deeds done must bear fruit.

The *Abhirbudhnya*[9] *Saṁhitā* VI.46 of the *pāñcharātra* defines *niyati* as *"suksmaḥ sarva niyāmākaḥ*—the subtle regulator of everything.

Ḍalhaṇa[10] (12th century A.D.) in his commentary on *Sūrśuta saṁhitā* (*Śarīrasthāna* 1.11) identifies *niyati* with *Karma* : *pūrvajanmārjitau dharmā-dharmau niyatiḥ seva sarvasya kāraṇam iti niyativādinaḥ* : good and evil deeds accumulated in previous birth is *niyati* (fate). According to *niyati*-vādins, that is the cause of causes.

Ajita Kesakambala was perhaps a materialist, who even denied any life after death. In the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* he is credited with the view "There is no (merit in) alms-giving, sacrifice or offering, no result or ripening of good or evil deeds. There is no passing from this world to the next. There is no after life.....".

Pakudha Kachchāyana was, an atomist, who propounded that there are seven fundamental categories—eternal, indestructible, self existent. There are earth, water, fire, air, joy and sorrow, and life. He further maintained "No man slays or causes to slay, hears or causes to hear, knows or causes to know. Even if a man cleaves another's head with a sharp sword, he does not take life, for the sword-cut passes between the seven elements". This doctrine was called *anikka-vāda* or pluralism and *sassata-vāda* or Eternalism.

The Pakudha Kachchāyana repudiated the distinction between good and evil action including *himsā* (violence) and *ahimsā* (non-violence).

In the *Pāyāsi suttanta*[11] Pāyāsi says "Neither is there any other world, nor are there beings reborn otherwise than from parents, nor is there fruit or result of deeds well-done or ill-done". He elaborates that none of those who had led immoral lives and committed breach of the precepts, that is committed murder, theft, fornication, uttered falsehood etc., have ever, after death and their assumed rebirth ever reported that they in their new existence, have suffered because of their past 'misconduct'. He goes on to assert :

> "I saw wanderers and Brahmins of moral and virtuous dispositions, fond of life, averse from dying, fond of happiness, shrinking from sorrow. Then I think, "If these good wanderers and Brahmins were to know this 'when once we are dead we shall be better off' then these men would take poison, or stab themselves from precipices." And it is because they do not know that, once dead they will be better off, that they are fond of life, averse from drying, fond of happiness, disinclined for sorrow".

The most prominent among the *anti-karman* philosophers were those who belonged to the school of *Chārvākas*[12] or *Lokāyatas*. They were materialists. They

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believed that there are four eternal elements—earth, water, fire and air. These elements constitute matter. "And from these four elements alone is intelligence (*chaitanyam*) produced . . . . . ". *Ātmā* is defined as a body having intelligence.[13] "(The view) that there is a soul separate from the body, which on reaching the other world enjoys rewards, is (like) the hope to get tasty fruits from big flower of a tree in the sky..... When the body is destroyed, has any one seen a soul separate from it which acquired consciousness as a result of transformation (due to certain combination)?.....By all means materialism alone is the science, in whose view, the only means of knowledge is perception. The elements are earth, water, fire, and air. Wealth and pleasure are the sole aims of man. The elements move through original impulse. There is no other world. Emancipation is death....."[14]

Sarvadaśana saṁgraha[15] summarises the relevant views of Charvākas thus :

> "There is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any soul in another world.....While life remains let a man live happily, let him feed on *ghee* even he runs in debt. When once the body becomes ashes how can it ever return again.
>
> If he who departs from the body goes to another world, how is it that he comes not back again, restless for the love of his kindred?"

Thus the Chārvākas repudiated belief in any world other than this world, in soul, in transmigration and rebirth, in *karmas* bearing fruit in life hereafter. Consequently they advocated pursuit of life of pleasure and taught hedonistic ethics. In the *Naisadhacharita*[16] (17.69) of Śrīharsha, the Chārvāka denies the existence of the soul in the following words : *bhasmibhūtasya bhūtasye punarāgamanam kutaḥ* : a creature once burnt to ashes at death can by no means return. So they advocated a philosoyhy of eat, drink and be merry.[17] They taught : *Lokāyatā vadantyēvam nāsti dēvō na nirvṛti/dharmādharmau na vidhyatē na phalam pūṇyapāpau.*[18] Lokāyatas say that there is no god, no emancipation, no right and wrong and no fruit of good and evil action. There is no greater *dharma* than indulgence in desires :[19] *dharmaḥ kāmātparo na hi.*

The validity of *karma* as a causative force was also disputed by *Kālavādins*, those who held Time as the original cause, against the *Svabhāvavādins* who held Nature as the ordaining cause of everything, by *Yadrēchhāvādins* who held that all things happen accidentally and *Ajñānvādins* who believe in motiveless, natural activity. These doctrines of *kāla svabhāva, niyati, yadṛechā* are referred to in the *Śvetāśvatara upanishad* I. 2.

The doctrine of *Kālavadins* is set out first in the *Atharvaveda* XIX 53-54 :

> "Time generated the yonder sky, Time also these earths. What is and what is to be stand out sent forth by Time. Time created the earth; in Time burns the Sun, in Time are all existences.....Time generated progeny. Time in the beginning (is) *Prajāpati*.....From Time came into being the waters; from Time (came) the *brahman*, fervour, the quarters. By Time the Sun rests; in

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Time he goes to rest again. Time generated of gold what is, and what is to be....." Time is called the Highest God.

The *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*) in certain passages makes *kāla* all important as compared to *Karma*. *Mbh* XII 227.28 says that "Every person undergoes happiness and suffering in turn. Indra, you have attained (godhead) by the passage of time (*paryāyena*) and not as a result of *karmas*. *Mbh* XII 227.73 makes *kāla* the causative force (*kartā*) and in XII 227.84 explains success or failure, happiness and suffering as the result of *kāla* (and not of *karmas*). But *Mbh* XII 227.96.2 accepts that *kāla* deals with all creatures equitably. It thus equates *kāla* with *karma*. *Mbh* XII.33.19 markes *kāla* the witness of the good and bad deeds of beings and *Mbh* XII 33-22 avers that it is the *karmas* through time (*kāla*) that endow the universe with life or consciousness (*karmaṇā kālayuktēna chēshṭate jagat*).

The *Abhirbudhnya Saṁhitā* 6.49 of the *Pāñcarātra* defines *kāḷa* as a maturing force—*Kālasya pāchanam rūpam*.

The Nyāyikas recognised *kāla* as a causative force along with God.

Janyanām janakaḥ kālo
Jagatāmāśrayo mataḥ

Kāla is the progenitor of all beings and the world subsists in *Kāla*.

However, Sūtra Kṛitānga 2.1 13-24 reveals that the Jaina *āchāryas* had a clear grasp of the anarchical and paralysing implications of anti-*karman* teachings. According to the *sūtra* those who do not believe in *karma* propound the following :

This murderer says, "Kill, dig, slay, burn, cook, cut or break to pieces, destroy. Life ends here; there is no world beyond? (*Sūtra Kṛitāṅga* 2, 1.17). Again "A man buys and causes to buy, kills and causes to kill, cooks and causes to cook, he may even sell and kill a man, know that even in this case he does not do wrong". *Sūtra Kṛitāṅga* 2.1.24). Again ".....foolish people sin recklessly (thinking) : 'We are only concerned with the present time; who has seen the next world and returned then ?'. (*Sūtra Kṛitāṅga* 1.2.3.10). Again "I never saw the next world, but I have seen with my own eyes the pleasures of this life. The pleasures of this life are (as it were) in your hand, but the future ones are uncertain. Who knows whether there is a next world or not? *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* V 5-6.

Guṇaratna quotes verses regarding the teachings of *Kālavādins* :

Na Kālavyatirēkēna garbhabāla yuvādikam
yat kiñcit jñāyatē lokē tadasau kāraṇam kila
kimcha kālādṛitė naiva mudgapaktirapīkshyate
sthālyādi sannidhāne=api tataḥ kālādasau matā
kālābhāvē cha garbhādi sarvam syād avyavasthayā
pareshṭa hetu sudbhāvam atrād-ēva tadudbhavāt

Śāstravārttika 165-68

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kālaḥ pachatī bhūtāni kālaḥ saṃharate prajāḥ
kalaḥ suptēshu jāgarti kālō hi durati kramaḥ

Mahābhārata

In this world conception, childhood, youth etc. whatever is born or produced, that originates or arises from the aid of *kāla* (Time), not without *kāla*. *Kāla* is the effective casual factor. Cooking vessels, firewood and the cooking materials together without the assistance of time cannot produce cooked food. If it is accepted that a work can be fulfilled or done merely on a desire or motive of others and without the intervention of Time, then conception will be unnecessary.[20]

Kāla matures all beings, *kāla* destroys all beings, *kāla* is watchful when all else are asleep, indeed the cycle of Time cannot be interrupted.[21]

In his commentary[22] *Śvetāśvatara upanishad* 1-2 Saṁkara defines *Kāla* thus : *Kālō nāma sarva-bhūtānām vipariṇāmahetuḥ*. *Kāla* is that which causes transformation in all beings.

As regards the *Svabhāvavāda*, Saṁkara in his commentary says : *Svabhāvō nāma padārthānām pratiniyatā śakṭih* : *svabhāva* is the name of the specific qualities of different entities of matter.

About the Svabhāvādins Guṇaratna in his commentary ii.24 on Saddarśana samuchchaya (1-24) quotes verses summarising the teachings of the *Svabhāvavādins* :

Kaḥ kaṇṭakānām prakaroti taikshnyaṃ
vīchitrabhāvam mṛiga pakshiṇām cha
svabhāvataḥ sarvam-idam pravṛittam
na kāmachārō=asti kutaḥ prayatnaḥ[23]

Buddhacharita 9/62

badaryāh kaṇṭakas tīkshṇa ṛiturēkaśhcha kuñchitaḥ
phalaṁ cha vartulaṁ tasyā vada kēna vinirmitam

Lokatatva 2/22

What causes thorns to have sharp points and birds and beasts to have their own wonderful ways? All this is ordained by Nature and there is no caprice anywhere. Of the jubijube tree the thorns are sharp pointed, some straight, some bent, the fruit is round—by whom are all these made?

A popular verse[24] summarises the teachings of *Svabhāvāda* thus :

Nityasattva bhavantyanyē nityāsattvāścha kechana
Vichitrāḥ kechi d-ity-atra tatsvabhāvō niyāmakaḥ
Agnirushṇō jalam śītam samasparśastathānilaḥ
Kēn-ēdam chitritam tasmāt svabhāvāt tad vyavasthitiḥ

Certain entities are enduring others are transient; there is diversity in this world, their nature governs or controls them. Just fire gives heat, water is cold, the wind produces the sensation of touch. Who has so made or created? —it is just the nature inherent in them.

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Yadrichchāvādins[25] according to Guṇaratna maintain that there is no definite causation in the world. *Śāluka*, the root of a particular kind of water lily, comes from a *śāluka* as well as from cow-dung; fire is produced by fire as well as by a piece of wood (*araṇi*). Smoke is caused by smoke as well as by a combination of fuel and fire; *kandali*, a kind of plant with white flowers comes from *kanda* bulbuous root as well as seeds; the vaṭa tree comes from seeds as well as a cutting of a branch; wheat comes from wheat seeds as well as bamboo seeds. Hence it is concluded that there is plurality of causes and there is no one single cause of production. Hence production or coming into existence is accidental (*yadṛichchhataḥ*). Guṇaratna quotes the following verses :

atarkitopasthi tamēva sarvam chitram janānāṁ sukhadukkha jātam
Kākasya tālēna yathābhighāto
na buddhipūrvō=asti vṛithābhimānaḥ

Āchārāmyā 2.1.1.1.14

All this has come into existence without any pre-meditation, that is by accident the various joys and sorrows of men; all this is like the striking of a crow by a palm fruit which is not preceded by forethought or design. It is futile to have false pride in human capacity.

The *Ajñānavādins*,[26] according to Guṇaratna, hold that *Karma* done without thought or deliberation is abortive and does not produce any fruit; but *na jñānam śreyaḥ* : knowledge is not conducive to welfare or prosperity.

But none of these thinkers posed any threat to the doctrine of *Karma*. *Yadṛichchhavāda* was too irrational and blind to the apparent order in the Universe, macro and micro universe and hence could command no acceptance. *Svabhāvavāda* was too naive to satisfy the human mind seeking logical explanation of the phenomenal world. *Kāla* and *Karma* are inseparably linked. *Kāla* operates through *Karma* and *Karma* manifests itself in time. *Niyati* is in the nature of a comprehensive, all embracing, cosmic law, operating both in the animate and inanimate world, in the world governed by the laws of science and in the world of sentient creation, especially human beings in which the moral law operates. *Niyati* could be equated to *rita* of the *Vedas*. *Karma* thus becomes a special aspect of *niyati* limited in its operation to the field of sentient creation. Any scope for conflict between *niyati* and *Karma* was obviated by defining *niyati* as *Karmas* done in previous life (*purvārjita* karma). The *Chārvāks* died out from the Indian scene as all the schools of Hinduism, and Buddhism and Jainism were arrayed against it.

Really speaking the real threat to the doctrine of *Karma* arose from two unexpected quarters : *advaitavāda* and *śūnyavāda* and *vijñānavāda*. The seeds of this challenge had, however, been sown by *upanishads* themselves. The *Brihad Up*. IV 3.22 and 4.22-23, *Chhāndōgya* III 4.3. *Muṇḍaka* III 1.3, *Kaushītaki* I. 5, the *Taittirīya upanishad* II.9, *Kaṭha* 1.2.14 all teach that on attaining *Brahman* or *Paramātman* one is freed from good and evil; he goes beyond right and wrong.

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The *Bṛihad Up* IV 3.22 avers that the *Brahman* is unaffected by good or by evil : *anonvāgatam puṇyenānanvāgatam pāpeṇa.* The *Bṛihad Up* IV 4.22 further says of the supreme spirit *sa na sādhunā karmaṇē bhūyān, nō ēva sādhunā kaniyān* : it (*Brahman*) is not magnified by good work nor degraded in the least by evil work. The *Bṛihad Up* IV 4.23 is still more explicit : the *Brahman* is not effected by evil : *na lipyate Karmaṇā pāpakena.* Again *ibid.* Evil does not overtake him : (rather) he goes beyond evil. Evil does not affect him, (rather) he goes beyond evil : *nainam pāpmā tatarti; sarvam pāpmānam tarati; nainam pāpmā tapati; sarvam pāpmā taṭati.* The *Kaushītaki* III.1, puts it bluntly : "So he who knows me (Indra) this, by no deed whatsoever of his in his world injured, not by stealing, not by killing an embryo, not by killing of his mother, not by killing of his father".

Chhāndōgya V. 7 states : A person who steals gold, drinks wine, commits adultery with his guru's wife, kills a *brahmin* and he who keeps company with such persons, falls. But in Chhāndogya V.10 it is averred that he who knows the pañchāgni, the Five sacred fires, is not stained by evil even though he may keep company with those who have committed any of the above offences. He becomes pure, clean and obtains a good world . . . .". *Bṛihad Up* V. 14.8 echoes the same as the result of the knowledge of *Gāyatrī* prayer. *Chhāndogya* IV 14-3 makes this point very tellingly, *yathā pushkara-palāśa āpo na ślishyante evaṁ, evaṁ-vidhi pāpa karma na ślishyata iti* : "as water does not cling to the lotus leaf, so evil does not cling to one who knows it".

The idealistic schools of philosophy, *advaitavāda* of Brahmanism and *śūnyavāda* and *vijñānavāda* of the Buddhists provided firm philosophical rationale for treating ethics as devoid of any validity in the ultimate sense. In the first instance, they postulated two levels of reality. According to Nāgārjuna, truth has two categories : (i) *samvṛiti satya*—relative or contingent truth, and (ii) *paramāratha satya*—supreme or absolute truth. The Yogācāras called them (i) *paratantra* (dependent) and (ii) *parinishpañña* (absolute). Saṁkara accepted this classification but with a slightly different terminology; he called them (i) *Vyavahārika* (conventional) and (ii) *paramārthika* (ultimate).

The distinction between 'I' and 'you' between 'this' and 'that', between good and evil, between right and wrong is valid only at the lower level of reality. In other words, ethics, the idea of good and evil deeds is a dualistic concept; it is only an empirical truth which ceases to have validity when one attains *paramārtha satya.* Thus *karmas* cease to exist in the ultimate sense. This made the path of action (*karma*) a lower, inferior path and the path of *nirvikalpa samādhi,* a state in which discriminating thought process is arrested and sense of duality disappears, as superior. This is the *brahman* of *Saṁkara, śūnya* of *Nāgārjuna* and *vijñāna* of Asanga and Vasubandhu.

Again in the ultimate sense, there is no real difference between good and evil, between right and wrong. In fact they tend to be equated. The *Sarvadharma-pravṛitti*[27] *nirdeśa sūtra* says :

"The *Bodhi* and Greed

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They are one, not two
Out of one Dharma gate cometh all
Here's sameness, no diversity".

Similarly in *Brahmasūtra Saṁkara Bhāshya* III. iv.50 a true Brahmin is described as one *Yam na santam na chāsantam naśrutam na bahuśrutam na suvṛitam na durvritam vada kaśchitsa brāhmaṇa* : "whom nobody knows either as noble-born or low born, nor ignorant or learned, nor of good-conduct or bad conduct....."

The Idealists carried their dialectical attack on duality to its logical conclusion by praising evil.

The *Mahānirvāṇa tantra*[28] XIV 123-126 says that he who realises that all things are *Brahman*, for him, there is no need to practice *yoga*, *pūjā*, worship, *japa*, recite *mantras*, *yajñas*, sacrifices, *tapas*, *penance*, *vrata*, keep vows as for him "there is neither sin nor virtue, neither heaven nor future birth". He becomes a *svechchhāchāri*, one who can act as he likes, free from social discipline.

The later Buddhist texts express identical ideas. In the *Saptaśatika*[29] *prajñā-pāramitā* 231.32 "the five deadly sins" are said to be a synonym for that which is equated with enlightenment, "For those five deadly sins have just the same essential original nature as enlightenment because they do not exist". The *Vimalakīrti*[30] *nirdeśa sūtra* is still more radical as it avers: "It is by virtue of passions and sins that the seeds and sprouts of Buddhahood are able to grow (and not from inaction and eternal annihilation)".

Even the Jainas, who belong to the Realist Schools of philosophy and who have been most austere and uncompromising in the ethical discipline to be observed, accept that, in the ultimate, the distinction between good and evil vanishes.

Kundakunda in *Samayasāra*[31] 146 observes :

"A shackle made of gold is as good as one made of iron. Similarly *karma* whether good or bad equally binds *jīva*". While dealing with *moksha* or liberation, *Samayasāra* 306, 307 is more explicit :

Pratikramaṇam pratisaraṇam parihārō dhāraṇā nivṛttiścha
Nindā garhā śuddhir-ashṭavidho bhavati vishakumbhaḥ // 306

Pratikramaṇa (repentence for past misconduct), *pratisaraṇam* (pursuit of good), *parihāra* (rejecting the evil), *dhāraṇa* (concentration), *nivṛitti* (abstinence from attachment to external objects), *nindā* (self censure), *garhā* (confessing before the master) and *śuddhi* (purification) these eight kinds constitute the pot of poison.

Again :

Apratikramaṇam apratisaraṇam aparihāro adhāraṇā ch aiva /
Anivṛitti ś-cha anindā agarhā aśuddhi amṛitakumbhaḥ

Non-repentence for past misconduct, non-pursuit of the good, non-rejecting the evil, non-concentration, non-abstinence from attachment to external objects, non-self

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censure, non-confessing before the master, and non-purification by expiation, these eight kinds constitute the pot of nectar.

This provided philosophical justification for *vāmāchāra*, left handed *tāntric* practices including indulgence in *pañchamakāras*, sex, meat, liquor, grain and fish except among the Jainas. This made a mockery of *pañchaśīla*, five vows enjoyed for observance by monks and layment especially *ahiṁsā* (non-violence), *brahmacharya* (celibacy and continence) and avoidance of intoxicants *apramāda* which were intended to regulate their activities.

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19. Haribhadra Sūri, *ibid.*, verse 86, p. 571.
20. *Nyāyasiddhānta muktāvali kārika* 45. See also *Śatravārtāsamuchchaya* 252-259, *Maṭhavṛitti kārikā* 61 cited by Dalsukh Malvaniya - *Ātmamīmāṁsā* (Hindi), Banaras, 1953, p. 87.
21. Gunaratna's Commentary on *Saddarśana samuccaya* (ed. and tr.) by Mahendra Kumar Jain Bharatiya Jnana Peeth, Delhi, 1973, 1-20.
22. Published by Gita Press, Gorakhpur (year of publication not given).
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Brihat Saṁhitā 1-7.
kaḥ kan takānām prakara ti taiks nyam |

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Vichi trabhāvam mṛiga pakshiṇām cha |
mādhuryam ikshoḥ kaṭutām cha nimbe |
svabhāvataḥ sarvam idam pravṛttam ||
Dalhana Śarīra-sthāna 1. 11 :
Kaḥ kantakānām prakaroti taiks-nyam |
chitram vichitram mṛiga pakshiṇām
cha mādhuryam ikshauḥ kaṭutām marīche svabhāvataḥ sarvḥ idam pravṛttam.

24. Cited by Dalsukh Malavaniya. *Ātma Mīmāṁsā* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1953, p. 88, f.n. 4.
25. Guṇaratna: *ibid.*, 1 29. The *Kāka-tāliya* maxim is: The crow had no idea that its perch would cause the palm branch to break and the plam branch had no idea that it would be broken by the crow's perch; but it all happened by pure chance. Belvalkar and Renada : *History of Indian Philosophy*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 458, f.n.
26. Guṇaratna, *ibid.*, 1-31.
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A NOTE ON THE PĀŚUPATA CONCEPT OF PURITY (*ŚAUCHA*)

MINORU HARA*

Unlike other Hindu systems of thought,[1] the Pāśupata Śaivism proposes a new set of *yama* (general commandments), which consists of the following ten items: *ahiṃsā* (non-injury), *brahmacharya* (chastity), *satya* (truthfulness), *asaṃvyavahāra* (avoidance of business), *asteya* (avoidance of theft), *akrodha* (avoidance of anger), *guru-śuśrusha* (obedience to one's elders), *śaucha* (purity), *āhāra-lāghava* (moderation in eating) and *apramadā* (sobriety)[2]. Ordinarily, the first pentad in the above list is called *yama*, while the remaining one is termed as *niyama* (particular commandments)[3]. Thus, it is the Pāśupata peculiarity that it comprised all these ten in the category of *yama*, while they invented a new set of *niyama*, in which they included such rites and practices peculiar to their order as besmearing one's body with ashes (*bhasma-snāna*, *bhasma-śayana*), wearing *nirmālya* (the remains of flowers offered to the deity) and the like. Replacements of the old set of *yama* and *niyama* with new ones is necessary at the time of initiation and this replacement is compared to the taking out of an old wedge and replacing it with a new one and to the replacing of old water with fresh[4].

Purity (*śaucha*),[5] which is preliminary to performing religious rites and practices, holds an important place in the Pāśupata Śaivism, and thus is euumerated in the list of the Pāśupata *yama*. Application of ashes which is a characteristic feature of our system is originally intended for cleansing and purification[6], and the concept *śuddhi* constitutes a pair together with that of *vṛiddhi*. However, prior to further analysis and discussion in detail, it is a matter of primary importance to see what the original Pāśupata texts themselves say about the matter. Below, we shall present a translation of the relevant passages as given in the *Pañcharthabhāshya* of Kauṇḍinya, the sole commentary to the *Pāśupata sūtra*[7].

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Similarly purity (*śaucha*) is established in the system (tantra). How? Because we have the teaching (in our scripture)[8] that one should "bathe with ashes (*bhasma-snāna*)."[9] Again, this purity is of three kinds : purity of body (*gātra śaucha*), purity of mind (*bhāva-śaucha*) and purity of soul (*ātma-śaucha*). Of these, purity of body by means of ashes is well known (*prasiddha*)[10] from the teaching "(that, one should) bathe with ashes (PS.1.2)."

(Question) It is not right to say that purity of body by means of ashes is well-known. Why? Because there is an inconsistency between what was said first and what is said later. Here it was first said that the general commandments (*yama*) beginning with non-injury (*ahiṃsā*) were well known. But what is here said further is not well known, namely that purity of body is (achieved by bathing) with ashes. Therefore, what was said before and what afterward do not agree and are inconsistent. This is a fault. Accordingly, because of the fault of inconsistency between what was said before and what afterward it is not right to say here that purity of body by means of ashes is well known.

(Answer) This is not a fault. Why? Because we see that it is well known. Here (in our system) and also in other (systems) it is well known that purity of body comes from bathing with ashes. Thus, it is said,

> The evils (*dosha*) of the body that come from contact and those others inherited from father and mother; likewise impurities caused by food and drink; ashes burn out all of these even if they have penetrated to the bone and marrow.

Again, it is said,

> The wise men say that food, which is impure by containing a hair[12] or a worm, becomes fit for eating if merely touched by ashes.[13]

It is also said,

> Even if he has drunk wine, laid with his teacher's wife, committed a theft and murdered a Brahmin, a man is released from sin if he covers himself with ashes and lies in ashes, repeating to himself (the name of) *Rudra*.
>
> He who constantly practises bathing in ashes ((*āgneya snāna*) with his senses restrained raises up twenty-one (generations of his) family and goes to the highest path.

Thus, even outside our sect it is well known that purity of body is caused by bathing with ashes. Therefore it is right to say (so, after saying)[14] that the general commandments (*yama*) beginning with non-injury (*ahiṃsā*) are well known.

Similarly the purity of mind (*bhāva-śaucha*) is established in this system (*tantra*) on the ground of the scriptural passages which teach subsidiary ablution (*upasparśana*)[15], breath-control (*prānāyāma*)[16], prayer (*japya*)[17] and that his mind becomes free from impurity (*akalusha-mati*).[18]

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> A bath does not remove the inner mental attitude (*bhāva*) if it is evil (*dushta*). Purity of mind is the higher sort of purity. The other is like washing a coal.[19]
>
> Even by a thousand clay and a hundred jars of water those who are wicked and whose thoughts are touched by sin are not made clean. Purity is truth (*satya*), purity is asceticism (*tapas*), purity is control of the bodily organs (*indriya-nigraha*), purity is compassion (*dayā*) for all beings. The fifth (sort of) purity is by means of water.
>
> The higher purity belongs to them only, in whom there arises no desire for gifts, for action or for objects of the senses.

For it is said,

> He who should give his whole wealth, if it be with an impure mind, will receive no merit, for in the attaining of merit the mind (*bhāva*) alone is cause.[20]
>
> For the more a man makes his thought good, the more all things will succeed for him. There is no doubt about it.

Thus, purity of mind (*bhāva-śaucha*) is established in our system.

Similarly, purity of soul (*ātma-śaucha*) is established in the system (*tantra*). How? Because we have the scriptural passages which teach that a man becomes free of sin (*apahata-pāpman*)[21] by means of dishonour (*avamāna*),[22] maltreatment (*paribhava*)[23] and slander (*parivāda*)[24]. Thus, purity of soul is established in the system. For it is said also by others :

> Manu has said that a man may wander over the whole earth with its mountains and forests and find no means of perfection better than scorn from others (*apamāna*).
>
> Thus, purity (*śaucha*) is established in the system.

In the above translation of our relevant passages, we notice that there are enumerated in the Pāśupata Śaivism the three sorts of purity, purity of body (*gātra*), mind (*bhāvā*) and soul (*ātman*). This triple division of purity[25] is taken over also by Bhāsarvajña's Ratnaṭīkā, who uses for these slightly different terms, *kāya*, *antaḥkaraṇa* and *ātman*.[26] It is evident from the above translation that, of these three, each succeeding one is superior to the preceding one, the purity of soul (*ātma-śaucha*) being the highest, while that of body (*gātra*, or *kāya-śaucha*) ranked as the lowest.[27]

Of these three, the first, that is *gātra-śaucha*, is apparently inseparable from the well known Pāśupata ash-cult, such as bathing in ashes (*bhasma-snāna*) or lying in ashes (*bhasma-śayana*). This Pāśupata ash-cult is fundamentally based upon the ancient Indian belief that attributes special cleansing efficacy to the ashes,[28] which are the remnant of all-burning fiery energy.[29] It is believed that one can get rid of defilement, while applying to his body this purificatory substance of ashes. The *gātra-śaucha* is, then, a physical purification by the actual use of the substance of ashes.

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The second purification, *bhāva-śaucha*, on the other hand, is of mental nature rather than physical.[30] Though the word *bhāva* here is paraphrased in *RT* into an inner organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*, *manas*?)[31] and is equated by Kauṇḍinya with thought (*mati*)[32], we are convinced that *bhāva* here is almost the same as our concept of emotion, because Kauṇḍinya himself classifies it into abhorrence (*dvesha*), desire (*ichchhā*) and anger (*krodha*). These three sorts of emotion are aroused respectively when one happens to see urine and feces (*mūtra-purīṣha*), or when one addresses women (*strī*) and low-caste people (*śūdra*). Hence the Pāśupata prohibition against observing excrement[33] and addressing women and śūdras.[34] But, when defiled by these emotions, the Pāśupata aspirant must perform a subsequent bath (*upasparśana*),[35] breath-control (*prāṇāyāma*)[36] and recite mantras (*japya*)[37]. These three rites are considered as the means to purify the mind (*bhāva-śaucha*).

The third, *ātma-śaucha*, which is the upper-most sort of purity, is related to the well known Pāśupata ritual of seeking dishonour (*avamāna*, *paribhava*, *parivāda*).[38] As has been investigated elsewhere,[39] the Pāśupata invented a singular method of accumulating religious merit. Thus, the aspirant is recommended to perform a series of queer action, *krāthana* (snoring), *spandana* (trembling), *mandana* (limping), *śṛṅgāraṇa* (playing the lecher), *avitatkaraṇa* (acting improperly), and *avitadbhāshaṇa* (speaking nonsensically) in fully view of people.[40] Such ridiculuous actions were to be performed so as to give the impression to the common people that one was a madman (*unmatta*)[41] and thus provoke their disgust and contempt. The ritual of abuse and contumelious speech is here in evidence.[42] To provoke false accusation from another was considered to be a way to purify one's soul; and to endure the dishonour, verbal, bodily and mental,[43] thus incurred, was to invigorate oneself.

II

Having explained these three sorts of purity (*śaucha*) peculiar to the Pāśupata Śaivism, we ask ourselves : Are these three simply enumerated successively without any mutual relationship within themselves, or is there any relationship among them ? A clue to answering this question seems to be present in some passages of the *PABh.*, which states that the first two, *gātra-śaucha* and *bhāva-śaucha*, are ultimately intended to serve to the last, that is, *ātma-śaucha*. However, due to the limitation of space, we here deal only with the relationship between the first and the last, that is, *gātra-śaucha* and *ātma-śaucha*.

While commenting upon *PS.* 1.2 (*bhasmanā tri-shavaṇam snāyīta*) the *PABh* says as follows :[44]

> "Here bathing (*snāna*) means that one must purify oneself, that is, by ashes one must remove from the body its adventitious oiliness and grease, dirt and smell of skin. (In the ordinary sense of term) bathing consists in the contact of the substance ashes with the body (*bhasma-dravya-gātra-saṃyojana*). But in the true sense (*paramārthatas*), bathing and others (that is, lying in ashes) means purification of the soul (*ātma-śaucha*) because of the scriptural passage "(the

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aspirant) filled with merit (*dharmātman*) : *PS.* 5. 31)," as the result of its meeting the reward of meritorious acts. And since it speaks of "(the man whose mind is) free from impurity (*akalusha-mateḥ* : PS.1.18)" and "freed of evil (*apahata-pāpman* : PS. 3.6)," owing simply to bathing etc., we may explain bathing as purification of the soul (*ātma-śaucha*) taking the cause to be mentioned for the result (*kārya-karaṇ-vyapadeśena*)."[45]

Here we notice that the Pāśupata ash-cult[46] (*bhasma-snāna, bhasmā-śayana*), though primarily for *gātra-śaucha*, is ultimately (*paramārthatas*) for the purpose of *ātma-śaucha*. But, we may ask further : Why is this ash-besmearing Pāśupata practice considered as the *ātma-śaucha*, which is to be accomplished in the course of incuring disdain and disgust from the common people ? As we have seen above, the Pāśupata ascetics provoke disgust and disdain among the common people while resorting to a trick of play-acting as a madman (*unmatta*). But, has this ash-cult any bearing on this ritual of seeking dishonour, which promises the Pāśupata ascetics the *ātma-śaucha* ? A key to solve this problem seems to lie in a definition of *unmāda* (insanity) as given in the Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*. We read in its chapter seven as follows :[47]

"Insanity is caused by determinant conditions (*vibhāva*) such as separation from the beloved (*ishṭajana-viyoga*), loss of wealth (*vibhava-nāśa*), accidental shock (*abhighāta*), derangement of three humours, *vāta, pitta, śleshma*, and the like. It is to be represented on the stage (*abhinaya*) by such external indications (*anubhāva*) as groundless (*animitta*) laughing (*hasita*), weeping (*rudita*), crying out (*utkrushṭa*), nonsensical talk (*asambaddha-pralāpa*), lying (*śayita*), sitting (*upavishṭa*), standing up (*utthita*) running (*pradhāvita*), dancing (*nṛitta*), singing (*gīta*), reciting (*paṭhita*) (all these to be performed without any reason); also it is staged by besmearing one's body with ashes and dust (*bhasma-pāmsvavadhūlana*), by wearing of grass (*tṛṇa*), remnants of flowers offered to deity (*nirmālya*), soiled cloth (*kuchela*), rags (*chīra*), potsherd (*ghaṭa*), bowl (*kapāla*), tray (*śarāva*) as an ornament, and by imitating many other actions of unsteady nature."

It is evident here in the definition of *unmāda* that the application of ashes to one's body is one of the characteristic marks of a madman. Such being the case, we are led to a conviction that the Pāśupata practice of besmearing the body with ashes constitutes a part of *ātma-śaucha*, the purpose of which is to incur disdain from others by imitating the signs of a madman (*unmatta*). On the basis of the passages of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, we are now persuaded that the Pāśupata ash-cult is not merely for *gātra-śaucha* (purity of body), but has a bearing on the *ātma-śaucha* (purity of soul) in the strict sense of term (*paramārthatas*).

Furthermore, in addition to this ash-cult students of Pāśupata are surprised to find here in the definition of insanity (*unmāda*) a series of the prescribed regimes of the Pāśupatas. Groundless laughing (*hasita*), singing (*gīta*), dancing (*nṛitta*), nonsensical talk (*ḍuṃḍuṃkāra*)[48] are enumerated in PS. 1.8 as the particular commandments (*niyama*) side by side with the ash-cult. Even further *nirmālya* (wearing the

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remains of flowers offered to the deity) is prescribed in PS. 1.5, and this, together with the ash-cult, constitutes an external sign (*liṅga*) of the Pāśupata ascetics.[49]

These comparisons of the passage of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* with the Pāśupata regimen invite us to a supposition that all these Pāśupata practices were originally designed to give common people an impression that they were mad and insane. Then we are led to a conclusion that included in the category of *ātma-śaucha* is not only the ash-cult[50] but also many other strange practices prescribed for the Pāśupata ascetics.

Notes and References

I would like to express my thanks to my friend, Dr. R.F. Young, who kindly took the trouble to read through my original manuscript and to correct my English.

Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows :

ASS. : *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series* (Poona) GOS. : *Gaekwad Oriental Series* (Baroda), IIJ. : *Indo-iranian Journal* (The Hague), NSP. : *Nirnayasagar Press* (Bombay), PABh. : *Pañchārthabhāshya of Kauṇḍinya* (TSS. 143), PS. : *Pāśupata Sūtra edited by R.A. Sastri* (TSS. 143), RT. : *Ratna-ṭīkā as a commentary to Gaṇa-kārikā* (GOS. 15), TSS. : *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* (Trivandrum).

1. *Cf.* for example,

   brahmacharyam dayā kṣhāntir dānam satyam akalkatā
   ahimsāsteya-mādhurye damaś cheti yamāḥ smṛtaḥ (213)
   snānam-maunopavāsejyā-svādhyāyopasthanigrahāḥ
   niyamā guruśuśrūsha-sāuchākrodhāpramādatā (*Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 3.314)

   Other classifications of *yama* and *niyama* are found also elsewhere

   ahimsa satyāsteya-brahmacharyāparigrahā yamāḥ
   śaucha-samtosha-tapas-svādhyāyeśvorapraṇidhānāni niyamaḥ (*Yogasūtra* 2.32)
   ahimsā prathamo hetur yamasya yamināṃ varāḥ (10)
   satyam asteyam aparam brahmacaryāpaparigrahau (11)
   śaucham ijyā tapo dānam svādhyāyopasthanigrahaḥ (29)
   vratopavāsa-mannam cha snānam chaniyamā daśa (*Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.8.30).

   Cf. also,

   ahimsā satyam asteyam śaucham indriyanigahaḥ
   etam sāmāsikam dharmam chaturvarṇye 'bravīn manuḥ (*Manusmṛti* 10.63)

2. *Cf. PABh.* ad PS.1.9 (*TSS.* 143, p. 16, line 5, p. 34, line 11) (*yama-prakaraṇa*), and *RT.* p. 14, lines 9 ff. (*tathā daśāhimsādayo yamāś charyā.....*).

3. *ahimsā brahmacharyam cha satyāsamvyavahārakau*
   asteyam iti pañchaite yama vai samprakīrtitāḥ
   akrodho guruśuśrūshā śaucham āhāralāghavam
   apramādaś cha peñchaite niyamāḥ samprakīrtitāḥ (*PABh.* p. 16, lines 1-4).

   Cf. also Kullūka ad *Manusmṛti* 4.204.

4. *Cf. PABh.* p. 15, lines 16 ff. (*evam...āsya brāhmaṇasya pūrva-prasiddhā niyamā niyamaiḥ pratishidhyante|kīlaka-pratikīlakavat purāṇodaka-navodakavach cheti*) and p. 8, line 12 (*pūrvāśrama-niyama-pratishedhārtham atyāśrama-yama-niyama-prasiddhyartham cha...*).

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5. For purity (*śaucha, śuddhi*) in general, *cf.* P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* II (Poona, 1941), pp. 651 ff. and IV (Poona, 1953), pp. 310 ff.
6. For its cleansing effect on metal, etc., *cf.* P.V. Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. pp. 325 ff.
7. The portion here translated is *PABh.* ad PS.1.9 (p. 29, line 1—p. 31, line 3).
8. It is the usual method used by Kauṇḍinya that whenever he introduces a new statement, he quotes the passages from PS. in order to authorise his statement.
9. PS.1.2 (*bhasmanā tri-shavaṇam snāyīta*).
10. *prasiddha* here implies well known to everyone, not simply a doctrine within a particular system. Hence the objection which follows. One may admit that such commandments as non-injury (*ahimsā*) are well known. But bathing in ashes is a practice peculiarly favoured by Pāśupatas.
11. *Cf.* also, p. 15, lines 20 ff. (*yamā asmin tantre ke chintyante?/uchyateprasiddhā yamā ahimsādaya iti*).
12. For the ritual horror with which a Brahmin regarded a hair in his food, *cf.* the story of Uttaṅka and Paushya in *Mahābhārata* 1.3.126 ff., and *Kāvyādarśa* 3.122.
13. For the beginning part of this verse (*keśa-kīṭopapannāni...*), one may refer to *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* 17.9 (*keśa-kīṭāvapānnam*) and *Mahābhārata* 13.24.6 (*keśakīṭāvapatitam kshutam śvabhir avekshitam...*). *Cf.* also F. Wilhelm, *Prüfung und Initiation im Buche Pauṣya und in der Biographie des Nāropa* (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 15.
15. A few lines seem to be omitted in the text.
14. PS. 1. 16 (*upaspṛisya*).
16. PS. 1. 16 (*prāṇāyāmam kritvā*).
17. PS. 1. 17 (*raudrīm gāyatṛīm bahurupīm vā japet*).
18. PS. 1. 18 (*akalusha-mateḥ*).
19. Read *śesham aṅgāra-mārjanam* for *śṛṅgāra-mārjanam.*
20. Does the hypermetrical *bhavati* in *pada* b point to an original Prakrit *hoti*?
21. PS. 3. 6 (*apahata-pāpmā*).
22. PS. 3. 3 (*avamataḥ*).
23. PS. 3. 5 (*paribhūyamānaś charet*).
24. PS. 3. 7 (*paresham parivādāt*).
25. Though in a quite different context, the triple division of purity is met in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (*tridhā cha śaucham, vākya-śaucham manaḥ-śaucham kāya-śaucham.* GOS. 1, p. 49, lines 15 ff.). *Cf.* also J. Nobel, "*Rājaśekharas Kāvyamīmāmsā*," *Festgabe H. Jacobi* (Bonn, 1926), pp. 174 ff.
26. *kāyāntaḥkaraṇātma-śuddhiḥ śaucham* (GOS. 15, p. 14 lines 15-16).
27. One may refer to *Manusmṛti* 5.109.

    adbhir gatraṇi śuddhyanti manaḥ satyene śuddhyati
    vidyā-tapobhyām bhutāmā buddhir āñānena śuddhyati

28. In addition to our note 6 above, one may refer to folk-etymologies of *bhasman* given in the Purāṇic texts,

    bhasatety eva yad bhasma śubham bhāvayate cha yat
    bhakshaṇāt sarva-pāpānām bhasmeti parikīrtitam (*Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.34.5)
    bhāsanād bhasitam proktam bhasma kalmasha-bhakṣhaṇāt
    bhūtir bhūtikarī chaiva rakṣhā rakṣhakari param (*Vāyaviya Samhitā* 1.33.95)

    Cf. also *Somaśambhupaddhati traduction, introduction et notes* par H. Brunner-Lachaux I (Pondichéry, 1963), pp. 30 ff. As regards the etymology of the word *cf.* P. Thieme, "psu," *Festschrift W. Schubring* (Hamburg, 1951), p. 8 (bhas-man=der Ort wohin man blässt um das nachts darunter schlafende Feuer wieder anzufachen). For *bhasma-śayana* as a means of atonement, see W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur* (Prag, 1939) pp. 144 and 191) *MBh.* 12.36.31).

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29. One may refer to the following Purāṇic passages :

vīryam agner yato bhasma vīryavān bhasma-samyutaḥ (57)
bhasma-snāna-rato vipro bhasma-śāyī jitendriyaḥ
sarva-pāpa-vinirmuktaḥ śiva-sāyujam āpnuyāt (*Liṅgapurāṇa* 2.18.58).

Cf. also *Saurapurāṇa* (ASS. 18), 45-77.78.

30. One may compare this with a passage of Kādambarī
nityam asnāna-śaucha-vadhyo rāga malāvalepaḥ (NSP. 1928, p. 195, lines 9-10).
31. *Cf.* our note above 26.
32. *Cf.* PABh, ad PS. 1.18 (*akalusha-mateḥ*), p. 40, line 5 (*bhāva-kālushyam evātra kālushyam* and lines 11-13 (*yadā tv ete dveṣhādayo bhāvā bīja-kṣhaye sati not-padyante tadā param bhāva-śaucham pratyavagantavyam*). It is further paraphrased into *buddhi* (*PABh.* p. 40, lines 18-19: *atra matir iti buddhir ity anarthāntaram*).
33. PS. 1. 12 (*mātra-purīsham navekṣhet*).
34. PS. 1. 13 (*strī-śudram nābhibhāṣhet*).
35. PS. 1. 14-15 (*yady avekṣhed yady abhibhāṣhet, upaspṛisya*).
36. PS. 1. 16 (*prāṇāyāmam kṛitvā*).
37. PS. 1. 17 (*raudrīm gāyatrim bahurupīm vā japet*).
38. PS. 3. 3-7 (*avamataḥ, sarva-bhuteṣhu, paribhuyamānaś charet, apahata-pāpmā, pareṣhām parivādāt*).
39. *Cf.* D.H.H. Ingall, "Cynics and Pāśupatas : The Seeking of Dishonour," *The Harvard Theological Review* 55 (1962), pp. 281-298 and M. Hara, "Transfer of Merit," *The Adyar Library Bulletin* 31-32 (1967-68) (V. Raghavan's Volume), pp. 382-411.
40. PS. 3. 12-18 (*krātheta vā spaudetavā, maṇḍeta vā śṛṅgāreta vā, apitat-kuryāt apitadbhāṣhet, yena paribhavam gachchet*). *Cf.* also M. Hara, "Nakulīśa-pāśupata-darśanam," *IIJ.* 2 (1958), pp. 27 ff.
41. PS. 4. 6 (*unmattavada eko vichareta loke*) and 4. 8 (*unmatto muḍha ity evam manyante itare janāḥ*).
42. *Cf.* J. Gonda, *Selected Studies* IV (Leiden, 1975), pp. 224 ff. and pp. 372 ff. One may refer also to the story of *Sadāparibhūta* in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*.
43. According to Kauṇḍinya, *avamāna* is mental (*mānasa*), *paribhava* bodily (*kāyika*), and *parivādo* a verbal (*vāchika*) sort of dishonour. These are called *sādhanā* (p. 31 line 2, p. 80, line 19, p. 82, lines 17 and 20).
44. The portion here translated is PABh. ad PS. 1. 2 (p. 9, lines 6-11).
45. *Cf.* also p. 40, lines 19-20 (*atrāpi karaṇa-vyapadeśenātma-śaucham vyākhyāyata ity arthaḥ*).
46. For the concept of ashes in general, *cf.* W.D. O' Flaherty, "The Symbolism of Ashes in the Mythology of Śiva, "*Purāṇa* 13 (1970), pp. 26-35 and M. Hara "Hai," *Memoirs of Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo* (in Japanese, 1968), pp. 448-384 (=3-67).
47. The portion here translated is *Nāṭyaśāstra* 7. 83 prose (GOS. 36, 2nd., p. 372, lines 1-6).
48. PS. 1.8 (*hasita-gīta-nṛitta-ḍumḍumkāra-namaskāra-japyopahāreṇopatiṣhṭhet*), *cf.* also *IIJ.* 2, p. 26.
49. PABh. ad PS. 1. 5 (*nirmālyam*) p. 11, lines 11 (*bhasma-nirmālyena tasya liṅgam vyaktam bhavati.....*).
50. In view of the context which thus speaks of the hidious Pāśupata practices, we infer that the ashes used by the Pāśupata ascetics were originally of the inauspicious nature, possibly collected from the cremation-ground (*śmaśāna*) though some Purāṇic passages relate them with *Agnihotra*. *Cf.* for example, (*Kūrmapurāṇa* 2.11.66 *bhasma...agnihotrikam*), *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.26.35 (*bhasma...agnihotrajam*), and *Saurapurāṇa* 18.11 (*bhasma...agnihotrasya*).

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31

DEVALA ON DĀNA

LALLANJI GOPAL*

In his 'Notes on the Devalasmṛiti' published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1952, pp. 85-89, Bhabatosh Bhattacharya has translated thirty-five verses of Devala quoted in the chapter on 'Nature of gift' in the *Dānasāgara* of the Ballālasena and two verses in the next chapter on 'The Charitable Attitude' in the same text.[1] In the *Dānakāṇḍa*[2] of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara there are thirty-seven verses of Devala in a countries sequence and dealing with *dāna*. The first thirty-four verses are common to both the *nibandhas*. The last two of the additional three verses in the *Dānakāṇḍa* are also to be found in the second quotation in the *Dānasāgara*.

As pointed by B. Bhattacharya,[3] P.V. Kane could not consider the entire passage from Devala on *dāna*, as quoted in the *Dānasāgara*[4] and *Dānakāṇḍa*,[5] because these two *nibandha* texts were not available in print at the time of the preparation of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II[6], which contains a chapter on *dāna*.[7] However, because of their high significance fifteen of these verses[8] on *dāna* and two on 'charitable attitude' are utilised by Kane as they occur in other *nibandha* texts and commentaries. The full significance of the Devala verses has not been appreciated by many scholars writing on *dāna*. K.V.R. Aiyangar, who wrote an introduction of 129 pages to the *Dānakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, could not do justice to Devala's contribution to the subject and dismisses the subject of 'nature of gift' in two-thirds of a page.

Though B. Bhattacharya noticed the significance of these verses,[9] he could not appreciate the real nature of the text of Devala. He seems to have been of the view that all the quotations are from one single *Devalasmṛti*. He noticed the prose passage occurring in the quotation in the *Dānasāgara*, but could not emphasise its importance for determining the nature of the original Devala text. This is clear from his remark : 'All these seven groups of quotations are in verse, except an additional single line in prose, thrust into the biggest group of verse quotations, viz., No. 3 (*ibid.*, pp. 28-31,

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at p. 29).[10] Later, in translating the quotations on 'nature of gift' and 'the charitable attitude', he underscores the significance of the prose passage by putting it within brackets,[11] suggesting that it did not have the same importance as enjoyed by the verses. Bhattacharya apparently subscribed to the view that the text of Devala was a *smṛti*. Later he speaks of 'the texts of the lost but highly important *Devala-smṛti*, both prose and verse'.[12] He does not make it clear whether he envisages two *Devalasmṛtis*, one in prose and another in verse, or one single *Devalasmṛti*, which contained a few prose passages as well. He clearly could not take cognisance of the possibility of the text of Devala being in the form of a *dharmasūtra*.

B. Bhattacharya, as we have seen, was fully aware that there are both prose passages and verses ascribed to Devala as a *dharmaśāstra* writer. One of the natural inferences in such a situation was to consider the possibility of a *dharmasūtra* under the name of Devala. But B. Bhattacharya persistently speaks of a *Devalasmṛti* only, possibly because he could not find any support or authority for the existence of a *Devaladharmasūtra*. We have demonstrated elsewhere that there was a *dharmasūtra* under the name of Devala.[13] Śaṅkarāchārya, the great Advaita philosopher, makes a clear reference to the *dharmasūtra* of Devala.[14] The reference leaves no doubt about the availability of this text to Śaṅkara. We have shown that possibly the full text of the *Devaladharmasūtra* was available to Lakṣmīdhara, the author of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*,[15] who belonged to the court of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra.

There are good reasons to believe that the passages under discussion on *dāna* quoted from Devala belonged to the *dharmasūtra* ascribed to him. Isolated verses from the *dāna* section of this *dharmasūtra* are quoted in many commentaries and digests according to the convenience of context. In the *Dānakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* and in the *Dānasāgara* the complete section, or a large part of it, has been quoted. The nature of the text is to be determined on the basis of the fuller quotations in these two *nibandha* texts and is not to be inferred from isolated verses.

In the *Dānasāgara* the prose passage occurs after verse 12 of the quotation from Devala. It is absent in the quotation in the *Dānakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtygkalpataru*. There can be many explanations for the dropping of this prose passage by Lakṣmīdhara. But, the testimony of Ballālasena's *Dānasāgara* cannot be lightly brushed aside. In the introductory part of his *nibandha* work Ballālasena has listed the texts consulted by him. He mentions Devala in this context. There is no reason for raising any doubt about the veracity of Ballālasena's claim that he had consulted Devala. He did not borrow the Devala passage on *dāna* from another secondary source. Hence the prose passage, as quoted by Ballālasena, is to be taken as actually occurring in the *dāna* section of Devala's text.

The quotation in the *Dānakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* also supports the inference that the text of Devala was a *dharmasūtra*. In this *nibandha* work the full section (or most of its earlier part) on *dāna* in Devala's text seems to have been quoted. In the beginning Lakṣmīdhara introduces the subject in a prose line saying 'Now I am describing the method of *dāna*'.[16] The fact that Lakṣmīdhara makes a profuse use of

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Devala in the different *Kāṇḍas* of his *nibandha* and knows long prose passages, as also prose passages and verses mixed, leaves no doubt that he had the full text of the *Devala-dharmasūtra* in his possession.

Our view about the *Devala-dharmasūtra*, particularly the nature of its chapter on *dāna*, is supported by the quotations from Devala occurring in the *Dānavivekoddyota* section of the *Madana-ratnapradīpa*. This extensive digest containing seven section (*uddyotas*) including the one named as *dānaviveka*, was compiled under the patronage of Madanasiṃha, who was possibly a feudatory ruler in Gorakhpur-Champaran.[17] The preparation of the work was entrusted to four learned brāhmaṇas, of whom Viṣvanātha, a Śrīmālī Gurjara from Kāśī, seems to have played a major role. Its compilation is to be placed roughly about A.D. 1400-1450.[18]

The quotations in the text have an independent value. They do not seem to have been copied either from the *Kṛtyakalpataru*[19] or from the *Dānasāgara*. The *Dānavivekoddyota* reproduces the first thirty-three verses in their correct sequence,[20] but, because it gives copious notes after each verse and sometimes after each line, the verses are not quoted in one compact set. To maintain the link the compiler, at several places, has observed that he is quoting from the same Devala. That possibly he had an access to the original text of Devala and did not rely on its quotations in the *Kṛtyakalpataru* and the *Dānasāgara* is clear from the fact that in place of verse 34 containing three lines in the two earlier *nibandhas*, it quotes a verse consisting of two lines[21] of which the first line is identical with the first line of the other sources, but the second line is new. The comments make out that this verse is the concluding one in which the natural śāstric *dāna* has been eulogised.[22]

In regard to the quotations from Devala, the *Dānavivekoddyota* agrees with the *Kṛtyakalpataru* on certain points, but on others it falls in line with the *Dānasāgara*. Like the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, it begins its chapter on *Dānasvarūpanirūpaṇa* with the quotation from Devala including its introductory prose line meaning, 'Now I am describing the method of *Dāna*'.[23] On the other hand, it is in agreement with the *Dānasāgara* in quoting a prose passage from Devala enumerating eight *pāparogas* after verse 12. Whereas the *Kṛtyakalpataru* quotes verses 35 to 37 as immediately following verse 34, the *Dānavivekoddyota* indicates that the chapter on *dānavidhi* possibly ended with verse 34. Verses 36 and 37 are, however, quoted separately elsewhere in the text.[24] Thus, the quotation in the *Dānāvivekoddyota* independently confirms that the verses on *dāna* originally appeared in the *Devaladharmasūtra*, which had an introductory line in prose as well as a prose passage occurring in the midst of the verses.

On *dāna* there is a very rich literature beginning with the *Ṛgveda* itself.[25] In the period of *nibandha* texts, the subject acquired more importance and the different points in *dāna* were systematically and elaborately discussed. These *nibandhas* relied on the authority of the earlier *dharmasūtras*, *smṛtis* and *Purāṇas*. But the account in none of the known *smṛtis* can compare with that given by Devala.

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Systematisation and classification are some of the characteristics of Devala's style. This can be seen in many other passages from his text dealing with other subjects which have survived as quotations in commentaries and *nibandhas*. In dealing with any topic, Devala first lists the constituent facts or factors. Then he classifies each in possible sub-types or classes. He explains each with suitable example where required. This style helps us understand the subject in all its aspects and is an aid in remembering the details. This style makes Devala's treatment of *dāna* most systematic and easiest to comprehend. Some aspects, covered by Devala, are not discussed in other *smṛtis* with equal clarity or effect.

Devala begins the present section with a definition of *dāna*. According to him, when wealth is given according to Śāstric rites so as to reach a receiver, who is a fit recipient as defined in the *śāstra*, that is described as *dāna*.[26] This is not a definition in the proper sense of the term. Devala gives an indication of the important constituents of a *dāna* to clarify its nature. But other smṛtis have not attempted even such a general description of *dāna*. It is significant that Lakshmīdhara, who was a Mīmāṃsaka, does not reproduce a definition from any other source, but merely quotes Devala's description. Defining *dāna* became important with the emergence of legal disputes about *dāna*. In Mīmāṃsā *dāna* is defined as beginning with the relinquishment of ownership by the giver and ending with the acquisition of ownership by the recepient.[27] Later, this definition was suitably modified by Govindānanda to read 'Dāna is the relinquishment of ownership in an object, in ways laid down by the śāstras, following the giving and acceptance of the object in the manner laid down by the Śāstras'.[28] Thus, Devala is important in giving an early description, approaching the form of a definition, which is not influenced by Mīmāṃsā tradition.

Dāna is described in terms of its causes (*hetu*) motives (*adhishṭhāna*), constituent elements (*aṅga*), effects (*vipāka*), kinds (*prakāra*), classes (*vidhā*) and vitiating factors (*nāśa*). No other *Smṛti* or *Purāṇa* discusses *dāna* under all these heads.

Verse 3 refers to *śraddhā* (reverence) and *bhakti* (devotion) as the two causes for the increase or decrease in the merit of a *dāna*. In seven verses (4 to 10) *dharma* (piety), *artha* (material welfare), *Kāma* (desire), *vrīḍā* (shame), *harṣa* (delight) and *bhaya* (fear) are listed as the six motives of *dāna* and are suitably explained. We do not find a parallel treatment in any other text. Of these six motives, *dharma* is clearly the most laudable. The *dharmadāna* is explained by *Devala* as that which is given to a worthy person without an eye to any particular object (to be achieved) but solely with the idea of doing one's duty.

Verse 11, mentions six constituent elements (*aṅgas*) of *dāna* as *dātā* (donor), *pratigrahītā* (donee), *śraddhā* (reverential attitude), *deya* (subject of gift acquired in a proper way) and the *deśa* (proper place) and *kāla* (proper time). These six elements are explained in the following verses (12 to 16). The list is exhaustive and covers all the important elements in a *dāna*. No other *Smṛti* has given such a list of the constituent elements of *dāna* to describe its proper nature. The nearest in this respect is the *Manusmṛti*,[29] which, without listing the constituent elements, mentions the

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first four elements in Devala's list. Yājñavalkya also does not enumerate the *aṅgas* of *dāna*, but mentions certain characteristics of *dharma* (*dharma-lakshaṇa*), namely *deśa*, *kāla*, *upāya* *dravya*, *śraddhā* and *pātra*.[30] The *Madanaratnapradīpa*,[31] by adding *dātā* to these six, takes the verse in Yājñavalkya to refer to seven *aṅgas* of *dāna*. The only other text, which specifically enumerates *aṅgas* of *dāna*, is the *Bhavishyatpurāṇa*.[32] It lists five *aṅgas* : *pratigrahītā*, *dravya*, *kāla*, *deśa* and *śraddhā*. The *Madanaratnapradīpa*[33] takes *pratigrahītā* to imply *dāta* also and thus supports the classification into six *aṅgās* as mentioned by Devala.

Verses 12 and 13 emphasise that both the donor and the donee are to be pure in character and conduct. The point in respect of the moral purity of the donee has been duly made in some other *Smṛtis* as well.[34] An oft-quoted verse, which occurs in the *Vishṇudharmasūtra*[35] *Mahābhārata*,[36] *Matsyapurāṇa*[37] and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*,[38] require the donee to be endowed with good qualities (*guṇavate*). The *Smṛtis* have a detailed provision about the persons who are fit to be donees and those who are unfit, but here also the emphasis on moral character is Devala's own, who succinctly lists the important qualities. So far as the donor is concerned, the *Smṛtis* merely emphasise the duty of all to make gifts, hence they have not cared much to mention the necessity for the donor to be of a pure conduct. They, no doubt, disapprove of the conduct of a brāhmaṇa who takes improper gift. Here also Devala, by contrast, significantly lists the requirements of moral purity on the part of a donor.

One noteworthy contribution of Davala is to emphasise the need for reverential attitude in making a *dāna*. *Dāna* is not a mechanical act. It is to be done in a proper frame of mind. Manu also has laid down that *ishṭa* and *pūrta* are to be done with *Śraddhā*.[39] In a later verse Manu emphasises the *bhāva* (attitude) with which a *dāna* is given.[40] He further says that a *dāna* to be meritorious is to be given with honour and is to be accepted with honour. Devala has added to the emphasis on *śraddhā*. As we have seen, he earlier mentions *śraddhā* as one of the two causes of *dāna*. By listing it as one of the six constituent elements of *dāna*, he has emphasised the need for giving *dāna* with a proper attitude, showing honour to the donee. Devala says, 'When, on seeing a needy person, the donor feels pleasure and indicates it by a smiling face, when he shows honour and is free from a feeling of ill-will or irrigation, that is said to be *śraddhā* (verse 14). In verses 36-37 Devala further repeats the point by remarking 'If a man were to give even the whole earth, acquired by proper means, without the reverential attitude or to an unworthy person, he would secure no prosperity (*bhūti*) thereby. On the other hand, by making a gift of even a handful of vegetables with a heart full of reverence and to a very worthy person, he will secure all prosperity (*abhyudaya*).

Verse 15 defines *deva* (a proper subject for gift) as that which has been acquired by the donor without causing pain or loss to another, or without worry or trouble to himself whether it be small or valuable. The question of *deva* has also received considerable attention in the *dharmaśāstra* literature. But, here again, much space is devoted to a listing of things which can be given and which cannot be given; we

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do not find anything by way of a general description or definition of a *deya*. A famous verse, occurring in the *Vishṇudharmasūtra*, *Mahābhārata*, *Matsyapurāṇa* and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, which we have quoted above, advises a person to donate whatever in this world is the most desirable thing and what one prizes most in one's house. The definition given by Devala is better in the sense that it covers the legal aspect emphasising the nature of things which one can properly give in *dāna*. A verse attributed to Vṛddha-Śātātapa[41] comes very near to the approach of Devala. It says that if a person gives as gift for funeral rites any object which is unjustly acquired, he does not receive its merit because of the wrong source of that object. Devala's brief description suitably covers another provision in the *dharmaśāstra* literature that the donee is not to give *dāna* causing trouble to his family, dependents and servants.[42]

Devala has also emphasised the importance of proper time and place for giving a *dāna*. According to him, the most proper time and place for making gifts are those in which a subject of gift is difficult to be secured and not otherwise (verse 16). He goes on to add that 'a comparatively insignificant subject of gift becomes valuable owing to the good association of circumstances, time, place, donor and donee, while a valuable one becomes otherwise owing to the bad association of the same' (verse 17). The *dharmaśāstras* contain a detailed provision about the auspicious occasions when and the holy places where giving of *dāna* has a special merit. The present passage of Devala does not give any such details. The significance of a proper place and time in the context of a *dāna* has been pointed out by some other *dharmaśāstra* texts, such as Āpastambha[43] and Bṛhaspati.[44] The contribution of Devala lies in the fact that he raises these two factors to the important position of constituent elements of a *dāna*.

Devala verses (18—22) speaks of six effects (*vipāka*) of a gift : bad result, no result, inferiority, equality, superiority and permanence. The first four of these arise as a result of the absence of or defect in one of the constituent elements of a *dāna*. The first, *dushphalam* (bad result), is caused if the *dāna* is given to an unworthy donee, an atheist, a thief, a ruffian, an adulterer, a person guilty of minor sins, a wicked person or a destroyer of an embryo (verse 19). The second, *nishphalam* (no result), is caused by the absence of *śraddhā* (reverential attitude) of the donor which renders *dāna*, however, great, unproductive of any result. The third, *hīnam* (inferior in merit), arises out of the requirements mentioned in the description of a *deya*. A good *dāna*, if made after causing pain or loss to another, becomes inferior in merit (Verse 20). The fourth, *tulyaphalam* (indifferent result) is also caused by the absence of a proper attitude in the donor. A gift, effected in compliance with all the requisite conditions but with a sinful (*Kalusha*) mind, turns out, owing to the defect in resolve (*saṅkalpadosha*), to be tainted with the fault of equality i.e. becomes indifferent (verse 21).

The other two results are of a happier type. Here also the importance of the constituent elements, particularly of the proper attitude is forcefully emphasised. Devala says 'A *dāna* accompanied by all the six constituent elements attains superiority (*vipulam*) in effect. That which is given away out of compassion (*anukrośa*) attains

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permanence (*akshayam*) (Verse 22). Though merits of *dāna* are eloquently enumerated in the *dharmaśāstra* literature, nowhere do we find a parallel categorization of the good and bad effects of *dāna*. An interesting parallel in approach is to be found in Hārīta[45] who speaks of *dānopasargas* (perversions of *dānas*) associated with which a *dāna* becomes unsuccessful, irrelevant, not leading to heaven and fame, impermanent and unfruitful (*asiddham-asambaddham asvargyam-ayaśyam adhruvam-aphalam*). Hārīta says that giving of an improper (*asad*) object does not lead to heaven (*asvargyam*); if after giving a *dāna*, the donor laments, then the *dāna* is unfruitful (*aphalam*); that which is given to a benefactor is a mere appendage (*pariśishṭam*); that which is given with feelings of affection etc. brings little merit (*alpaphalam*); that which is given to an undeserving donee is a *dāna* given for bad effects (*anishṭadāna*); if the donor praises himself after giving a *dāna*, it is *smayadāna* and it is *āsura*; if the *dāna* is given with disrespect and anger, it is *rākshasa*; if it is given with abuses, it is *paiśāca*, and if it is given with disrespect, it is *tāmasa*. It will be seen that there is no clear or uniform basis for the classification. In some cases it is a defect in the object of *dāna* or in the donee. But, in most cases it is caused by an improper attitude on the part of the donor.

Devala speaks of four kinds of *dāna* : *dhruva* (everlasting), *ājasrika* (continuous or profuse), *kāmya* (voluntary) and *naimittika* (occasional) (Verse 23). This classification is evidently based on the nature of the result derived, particularly its duration. Explaining the four kinds, Devala says that dedication of a well, garden, or reservoir of water and other things in an everlasting *dāna*, as it leads to results for all times; whatever is given every day is said to be a continuous *dāna* (Verse 24); whatever is given through a desire to secure progeny, victory, prosperity or a wife is called a voluntary *dāna* (Verse 25). In the *smṛtis* an occasional *dāna* is said to be of three kinds : what is given at certain specified times, what is given on account of doing certain acts and what is dependent on money for its performance. It can be performed with or without sacrificial oblation (Verse 26).

Following the classification of sacrifices[46] the *dānas* are also classified into three, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*.[47] Of these, *nitya* occurs in place of *ājasrika* in Devala.[48] The definition of *kāmya* given by Devala[49] also tallies with the one found in the *Kūrmapurāṇa*.[50] Devala does not define *naimittika dāna*, but mentions its three types.[51] The *Kūrmapurāṇa* adds a fourth as *vimala* (pure).[52] Though *vimala* seems to replace *dhruva* in Devala, it is by no means identical in import. *Vimala*, according to the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, is a *dāna* which is given to those who know *brahma* for securing the grace of God with a mind full of devotion. In the *Bhagavadgītā*[53] *dānas* are divided into three : *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*. But the basis of this division is not the one followed by Devala. Here it is the propriety of the *dāna* in terms of the donee, time and place and the attitude adopted by the donor. A *dāna* is *sāttvika*, if the donor gives it as his duty without receiving the object back; it is *rājasa*, if it is given with an expectation of a return or reward and is given grudgingly; it is *tāmasa*, if it is given at an improper time or place and to an unworthy person and with disrespect and not honour to the donee. The *Garuḍapurāṇa*[54] speaks of three types of

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dāna classified according to the mode of giving it which ultimately depends on the nature of the object of *dāna*. These are *kāyika*, *vāchika* and *mānasa*. *The kāyika* is the *dāna* of gold and other material objects, which can be given bodily or physically. The giving of protection to one who is distressed is *vāchika dāna*, because in it the *dāna* is communicated through speech. It is the same as *abhayadāna* of other texts. The giving of learning is termed as *mānasa dāna*, because learning is communicated through speech. It is the same as *abhayadāna* of other texts. The giving of learning is termed as *mānasa dāna*, because learning is communicated through mind. It is the same as *vidyādāna* mentioned in other texts.

Devala classifies the articles of *dāna* into three, *uttama* (best), *madhyama* (middling) and *adhama* (inferior). Nine things, coming under the category of best are : food, curds, honey, protection (*trāṇa*), cow, land, gold, horse and elephant. Four things, mentioned in the category of middling, are : learning (*vidyā*), house for shelter (*chhādana*), domestic paraphernalia (*āvāsaparibhoga*) and medicine (*aushadha*). The things mentioned as inferior are : shoes, chariots, carts, umbrellas, vessels, seats, lamps, wood, fruits and old chowrie. Devala adds that the other objects belonging to this category are too many to be precisely numbered (Verses 27-31).

The *dharmaśāstra* literature gives a detailed coverage to the articles which are forbidden to be accepted as gifts and also those which bring superior merit. But, we do not find a classification of the articles similar to what Devala has given. It would be seen that the opinions about some articles differ, though in the case of many there is a general agreement about the merit resulting from the *dāna*. Thus, Devala includes horse and elephant in the list of best articles of *dāna*. But, the acceptance of dāna of animals with two rows of teeth is forbidden by *śruti*.[55] The Brahmapurāṇa, as quoted by Hemādri,[56] forbids a Brāhmaṇa to accept the gift of ewes, horses and an elephant.

The *dāna* of certain objects was considered to be of great merit and was termed as *mahādāna*. The *nibandhas* and commentaries devote many long chapters in prescribing details about the *mahādānas*. Some *smṛtis* speak of *atidānas* or *dānas* of superior merit. Generally the *dānas* of cows, land and learning (*Sarasvatī* or *vidyā*) are described as *atidānas*,[57] and, depending on the context, one of these is extolled as surpassing the others. Thus, sometimes the *dāna* of *vidyā*[58] or land[59] is styled as the best. In the *Vishṇudharmasūtra*[60] *abhayadāna* (providing protection from danger) is described as the highest *dāna*. It is to be noted that Devala also lists *trāṇa* (providing protection) among the best *dānas*.

Devala speaks of three vitiating factors (*trināśam*) which destroy the effect of a *dāna*. These are : declaring it to others, boasting about it, and repenting for it. If a man unnecessarily boasts about his pious acts, he is said to have exhausted the enjoyment of the merits of his action (verses 32-33). We have seen above that the *dharmaśāstras* duly emphasise the need for the donor giving the *dāna* with humility and due respect to the donee. The present verses require him to maintain that attitude of humility and modesty even afterwards. Yogi-Yājñavalkya[61] and Laghu-Śātātapa[62] describe the merit of giving a *dāna* secretly (*prachchhanna*) to be infinite. The passage

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from Hārīta, which we have mentioned above, condemns a donor who boasts about his *dāna* or laments after giving a *dāna*.

Thus, we see that the treatment of *dāna* by Devala has an important place in the rich *dharmaśāstra* literature on *dāna*. It compares favourably with the treatment of the subject in any other *smṛti* text. Besides the length of the passage, the treatment has its own intrinsic merit. Its systematisation and classification of different aspects of a *dāna* are without any parallel in other texts. Its significance was duly appreciated by the authors of the *nibandhas*, particularly Lakṣmīdhara, Ballālasena and Madanasiṃha. If the entire section on *dāna* in Devala can be reconstructed, it will be a useful chapter in the voluminous *dharmaśāstra* literature.

Notes and References

1. He has listed seven groups of quotations from the *Devalasmṛti* occurring upto page 224 of the Dānasāgara (*Bibliotheca Indica*). The quotations translated by him appear on pages 28-31 and 33 of Dānasāgara.
2. pp. 5-9.
3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.
4. Calcutta, 1956.
5. Baroda, 1941.
6. Poona, 1941.
7. pp. 837-888.
8. Nos. 1, 5, 11-12, 15-16, 25-27, 29-32.
9. In his "Treatment of *dāna* by Kane and Rangaswami" : *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2 (1948) pp. 7-18 he makes a comparative study of their treatment of the *Dānakalpataru* (*Dānakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*), *Dānasāgara* and *Dānakriyākamudī*.
10. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVIII (1952), p. 86.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
13. Our article "Was there a Devaladharmasūtra ?" is to be published in *Prof. Jagannath Agrawal Felicitation Volume*.
14. On *Vedāntasūtra*, 1.4.28.
15. See our article "Devaladharmasūtra on Aiśvaryas" being published in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology*, Calcutta University.
16. *Ath-ātō dāna vidhiṁ vyākhyāsyāmḥ.*
17. Haraprasad Sastri, *Report on palm-leaf and paper mss. from Nepal*, Introduction, pp. 31-32. Some scribes seem to have confused him with another Madanasimha who possibly ruled as a petty chief over some small territory near Delhi. The reference suggesting that he was the independent ruler of Delhi is untenable because of the firm rule of the Afghan Sultans of Delhi. It can be suggested that taking advantage of the weakness of the Sultans of Delhi, he may have assumed some pretensions of independence for a short spell.
18. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (Second edn.), p. 809.
19. The compiler of the *Dānaviveḳōddyōta* seems to have been acquainted with the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, but strangely enough mentions its author as a south Indian *nibandhakāra*. See Kane, *loc. cit.*, p. 805.
20. It omits verse 23 and quotes verse 7 twice, once after verse 1, as required by the context in his comments, and a second time in its proper sequence.

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21. Page 20 : *Evaṁ sarva-guṇ-ōpetam-ukta dōsha vivarjitam*
Kamadhug-dhēnuvad-dānaṁ phalaty-ātm=ēpsitam phalam

On page 8 of the text quotes four verses from the *Matsyapurāṇa* of which the last two are the same as the present verse (as given in the *Dānavivēkōddyōta*; it has *tathā* for *evam*) and the second and third lines of verse 34 in the *Kṛtyakalpataru-Dānasāgara* quotation. To put it in other words, it is the same as verse 34 (containing three lines) in the (*Kṛtyakalpataru-Dānasāgara* quotation with an additional line (given by the *Dāna-vivekōddyōta*) inserted after the first line. It is to be noted that of the four verses ascribed to the *Matsyapurāṇa* only the first has been traced in the printed text of the *purāṇa* (Ch. 274.1). It is quite likely that the third and fourth verses were taken from Devala. The *purāṇas*, including the *Matsyapurāṇa*, are known to have borrowed verses and chapters from the *smṛtis*.

22. *Ibid.* : *Evaṁ dōsha-guṇa dan-ōpādān-ārtham dāna*
Viśeshāṇi udāhṛitya prākṛitaṁ śāstrīyaṁ
dānam stuvan upasaṁharti sa eva

23. *Tatra Devalaḥ*
Ath-atō dānavidhim vyākhyāsyāmaḥ

24. Pages 62 and 51 respectively.

25. See K.V.R. Aiyangar, *Kṛtyakalpataru, Dānakāṇḍa*, Introduction, pp. 57.129; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 837-81.

26. *Arṭhānām-udite pātre yathavat-pratipādanam*
Dānam-ity-abhinirdishṭam vyākhyānam tasy vakshyate

Here we have preferred the reading *yathāvat* for *śraddhāya* given by Lakshmīdhara.

27. K.V.R. Aiyangar, *Kṛtyakalpataru, Dāṇakaṇḍa*, Introduction, pp. 77.

28. *Dānakriyākaumudī*, p. 2 : *śāstrōkta sampradāna-svikāra saṁpādakaḥ śastrōkta prakārō dravyatyāgō dānam-iti vaidhadāna lakshaṇam-āyatam.*

29. IV.226-27.

30. I. 6.

31. *Dānavivekōddyōta*, I, p. 27.

32. Quoted in *Dānavivekōddyōta*, p. 26 :

Pratigṛihitā dravyam cha kālō dēśaś-cha pāvanaḥ
śraddhā cha sātvikī jñeyam dānānām-aṅga pañcha-kam.

33. *Dānavivekōddyōta, loc. cit.* :

Atra pratigṛihīta padena dātur-apy-upalakshaṇād
dātṛi pratigṛihītroḥ kroḍīkṛitya grahaṇam iti
dāna shad-aṅgam iti Devalena dātur-aṅgatvam-uktam-iti anupapattiḥ

34. *Daksha* III. 18; *Bṛihad-Yama*, III. 34-38, 55-56; *Manu*. IV. 193-200.

35. 92.32.

36. XIII. 59.7.

37. 72.39.

38. 35. 52-55.

39. IV. 225-26.

40. IV. 234.

41. Quoted in *Kṛtyakalpataru, Dāna*, p. 19 :

Dravyamānyāyalabdhena yaḥ karōty-aurdha dehikam
Nasa tat-phalam-āpnōti tāsy-arthasya durāgamāt

42. *Manu*, XI. 9-10; *Yājñavalkya* II. 175; *Bṛihaspati* (Aiyangar) *Vyavahāra*, XIV. 3; Mbh. XIII. 37. 2-3.

43. II. 15.12 : *Deśataḥ kālataḥ śanchataḥ samyak-pratigṛihṇīyāt.*

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44. *Saṁskāra* Verse 281 : *Deśe kāle vidhānena pātre dattaṁ viśeshataḥ*
Cf. *Dakṣha* (q. in *Kṛtyakalpataru, Dāna*, p. 14) :
Dānaṁ chavidhivad-deyam kāle pātre guṇāniste
45. Quoted in *Kṛtyakalpataru, Dāna*, pp. 22-23.
46. See Böhtling and Roth, *Sanskrit-German Worterbuch*, s.v. *nitya*; J. Basu, *India of the age of the Brahmanas*, pp. 138-39.
47. *Cf. Kurmāpurāṇa* (quoted by Hemādri, *Dāna*, p. 17; *Dānavivekoddyota*, p. 23).
48. *Nitya-dāna* is defined in the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (*loc. cit.*) as : *Ahany-ahani yad dānaṁ tan-nityam-iti kirtyate*
Ājasrika in Devala is explained as :
Tad-ājasrikam-ity-āhur-dīyate yad-dine-dine
49. *Apatya-vijay-aiśvarya strī bāl-ārtham yad=ishyate |*
Ichchā saṁstham tu tad-dānam kāmyam ity-abhidhiyate ||
50. *Loc. cit.*, : *Apatya vijay-aiśvarya svarg-ārtham yat-prdiyate |*
Dānam tat kāmyam-ākhyatām-rishibhir-dharma-chintakaiḥ ||
51. *Naimittika* is thus defined in the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (*Loc. cit*) :
yat-tu Pāp-opaśānty-artham diyate vidushām kare |
Tan-naimittikam-uddishṭam dānam sadbhir=anushṭhitam ||
52. *Loc. cit.*, : *yad-iśvara prīṇanārtham brahmavitsu pradīyate*
chetasā bhakti yuktena dānam tad-vimalaṁ śivam ||
53. XVII. 20-22.
54. Quoted in *Madanaratnapradīpa, Dānavivekoddyota*, p. 25.
55. Śabhara on Jaimini VI. 7.4.
56. *Dāna*, p. 57.
57. *Vaśishṭha dharmasūtra* XXIX.19; Bṛhaspati 18.
58. *Vasishṭha dharmasūtra* XXIX.19; Manu, IV. 233; Yajñavalkya I.212; Atri 340.
59. *Mahābhārata*, XIII. 62.2; *Vishṇudharmottara* (quoted by Aparārka, p. 369).
60. 92.1.
61. Quoted in Chaṇḍeśvara's *Gṛhastharatnākara*, p. 243.
62. 149. Quoted in *Kṛtyakalpataru Dāna*, p. 15.

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32

ON THE MEANING OF THE WORD 'CHARCHARĪ'

S.P. TEWARI*

The word '*Charcharī*' relates to the Indian Arts of Music and Dance and has been given a multi-faceted connotation during the course of many centuries. Except for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to Bharata, this word finds mention in some of the dramas of Kalidasa besides a few other literary works, and in many of the later texts on *Sangīta*. There is however, no concensus of opinion amongst the scholars regarding the exact meaning of this word. It is, therefore, I have endeavoured to put forth some of the references to the word '*Charcharī*' from literature and review the diverse opinions of the scholars about them with the hope of clarifying the prevailing ambiguities regarding this word and its interpretations.

The omission of this term in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* which is considered to be the earliest extent treatise on the Art of Drama, indicates that it was included in the vocabulary of Indian music and dance only after the compilation of this text. Monier Williams who has included this word as one of the entries in his popular *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*,[1] considers it as derived from the Vedic word '*Charchara*'[2] which according to Sāyaṇa means 'mobile' or '*charaṇa-śīla*'. The word '*characharī*' according to Monier Williams is an *īkārānta* feminine form of '*charchara*', which has been referred as a kind of song in the *Vikramorvaśīya*[3] of Kalidasa and the *Ratnāvali*[4] of king Harsha, and as a musical symphony in the *Kathāsarita Sāgara*[5] of Somadeva. Further, on the authority of Wilson's Dictionary he also includes the extended meanings of the same word as 'the recitations of scholars', 'festive cries or merriment', 'festive sport', 'flattery' and 'a metre of 4×18 syllables'. Later on, while considering the word '*charcharikā*' in the same sequence he renders it on the authority of the *Vikramorvaśīya*[6] as a kind of gesture. All this makes it evident that like the word, its meaning too has been '*charaṇa-śīlā*', i.e., mobile or liable to diverse interpretations.

Likewise, the *Śabda Kalpadruma*, the *Vāchaspatyam* and the popular *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* of Apte give a range of meanings while defining the '*charcharī*'. In the *Śabda Kalpadruma*[7] the word on the authority of Rudra is explained first as a kind

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of song (*gīta-bheda*) and on the authority of Subhūti as 'festive cries or merriment' (*harsha-kṛiḍa*). It also adds that according to some scholars the word could mean 'respectful greetings (*sādaravachana*) of the *Kārpaṭikas*'. In the opinion of still a few others it was considered as 'the union of song, dance and instrumental music (*tauryatrikam*). The word has also been explained as 'the festive sport in spring-time' (*vasanta samaya kṛiḍā*). In the *Śabdārtha Chintāmaṇi*[8] the word '*charchari*' is defined as the name of one of the metres. *Vāchaspatyam*[9] agrees to this explanation of the word. Needless to say that Apte[10] who has followed all the above dictionaries gives more or less the same meanings.

Before surveying the word '*charchari*' as it figures in literature (a couple of texts have already been cited above) and in the texts on Music and Dance, it may be worthwhile considering its explanation as given in the Sanskrit Lexicon *Amarakośa*, especially the views of its different commentators. In the third *Kāṇda* of the *Amarakośa*, Amara while referring to the *Lingādi-Saṅgraha* and the examples of feminines in particular, refers to the word '*charchari*' as follows :

...Jhallarī charcharī pārī horā laṭvā cha sidhmalā...[11] Sarvānanda in his commentary on the above explains the word '*charchari*' as :

. . . sa-dev-ārchanam gīta-nṛityam charcharī. . .[12] i.e. '*charchari*' includes both music (*gīta*) and dance (*nṛitya*) and it was performed as an offering during the worship of the Gods. Maheśvara in his commentary[13] besides giving the above explanation as quoted by Rudra, includes that it entails 'the clapping of the hands' or 'the cries of merriment'. Bhānuji's commentary[14] defines the word as '*charchyate iti charcharī*' and quotes the *sūtra charchara uktau*' in support i.e. '*charchari*' is basically a sound.

At a later period, Yādava Prakāshāchārya also includes the word under the *Śabdādhyāya* of his *Vaijayantī* and cites a few synonyms of the word '*charchari*'. The couplet from this *Kośa* reads as follows :

...Kolāhalaḥ kalakalaḥ kuñjan-āsmin apakrudhi charcharī charbhaṭis-tulye raṭhyā-vāde tu kohalam[15] . . .

having decided that '*charchari*' is basically a kind of sound the *Kośa* says that it is like '*kolāhalaḥ*'[16] i.e a loud and confused noise or an uproar, '*kalakalaḥ*' i.e. murmuring or the hum of a crowd or any indistinct and confused noise,[17] '*kuñjana*' or murmuring, '*apakrudhi*' i,e. reviling in anger and 'charbhaṭi' i.e. noise of merriment.

In the Prakrit word *Paia-Sabdda Mahaṇṇavo*[18] the word '*chachchari*' (in Prakrit) has been considered first as a kind of song,[19] as a troupe of singers,[20] a kind of metre and as the clapping of hands. The word '*chachchariyā*' (*charcharikā* in Sanskrit) is explained here as a type of dance.

Having considered some of the interpretations of the word '*charchari*' as given by ancient and modern lexicographers it may be useful to review its actual *prayogas* as also the context in which it occurs in some of the literary works. The *Vikramorvaśīya* provides ample references to '*charchari*' in the form of an instruction given to

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the character playing the role of King Purūravā. This is made clear from the fact that the editor of the text has placed such references as '*anantare charchari*'[21] within brackets. One such instance when this instruction has been given to the character playing the role of the King occurs when Urvaśi disappears into the forest and the King being unable to bear this separation feels depressed and in his absent-mindedness seeks information about his beloved from the peacock, the cuckoo, the swan, the chakravāka, the bee, the elephant, the mountain, the river and the deer.[22] This theme forms the main burden of Act Four of the drama and it also brings out the salient features of 'charchari' which has been artistically summarised by Kalidasa as follows :

. . . Morā parahua haṁsa rahaṅga
Ali aga pavvaa saria kuraṅgaṁ
Tujjhaha kāraṇe raṇṇa bhamante
Ko ṇa hu puchchhia mai roante...[23]

i.e. when the King on approaching the creeper with the '*charchari*' movement embraces it and there he beholds his beloved Urvaśi instead; he addresses her with the '*charchari*' mode of song and says that as he wandered tear-stricken in the forest he had inquired of the peacock, the cuckoo, the swan, the bee, the chakravāka, the elephant, the mountain, the river and the deer if they were aware as to where she was?

From a closer analysis of the above references regarding '*charchari*' from the *Vikramorvaśīya* the following facts may be gathered:

(a) The '*charchari*' mode of song was used specifically to denote a passionate outburst of either extreme sadness or happiness of a person and it was recited in a loud voice.

(b) The composition of this song was invariably in the Prakrit dialect, as clearly borne out by all the verses grouped as '*charchari*' by Kalidasa. This also reveals that in all probability the '*charchari*' song was of the '*deśi paddhati*' or of folk origin.

Worth noticing in this connection is the Sanskrit gloss of Ranganātha which throws a little more light on the composition and the recitation of the '*charchari*' songs. Having described it as a particular type of song (*gīti-viśeshaḥ*) he defines it as follows :

...Druta madhya layam samāśritā
Paṭhati prema-bharān-naṭīyadi
Prati-maṇṭahka rāsaken vā
druta madhyā prathamā hi charcharī . . .[24]

This could be loosely translated thus : 'it is a strain sung by an actor or an actress under the influence of heightened passion and in a tone which is either set to the fast or the medium tempo'. M.R. Kale in his commentary on the same, quotes the remarks of one Mr. Pandit saying that 'this stanza, it must be admitted, has a place

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of its own as it were in the context where it occurs. It also has a claim to be part of the soliloquy containing one of the King's own sentiments'.[25] This makes it all the more evident that the '*charchari*' was a song wherein the character expressed his own personal sentiments. Besides '*charchari*' which was the loud recitation of personal sentiments, the pose, gesture or the movement of the body which accompanied the song has been termed as '*charcharikā*' in the *Vikramorvaśīya*.[26]

There are references to '*charchari*' in the first act of Harsha's *Ratnāvali*, which is also devoted to the description of the festival called *Madana Mahotsava*.[27] To celebrate this festive occasion, two maidens called Madanika and Chūtalatika dance with gesticulations depicting the spring season, their feet moving unevenly due to their excited moods as they exhibit the love-sport (*madana-līlā*). They sing a strain called '*dvipadi*'.[28] This *dvipadi-khanda*' which was recited by the two damsels is mistaken by the Vidūshaka for a type of '*charchari*' and he requests them to teach it to him :

> *Vidūshaka* : *Bhavati Madanike bhavati Chūtalatike māmapy-etām charcharīm* (*chāchcharim* in Prakrit) *śikshayatam*...[29]

On hearing this foolish remarks of the Vidūshaka the two maidens ridicule his ignorance and tell him that it was not '*charchari*' but the '*dvipadi-khaṇḍa*'.[30] What is striking here is the distinction which Harsha maintains between the '*charchari*' and the '*dvipadi khaṇḍā*' types of songs. As stated earlier, though there is no reference to '*charchari*' in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the '*dvipadi khaṇḍa*' has been explained in this treatise. According to Bharata, '*dvipadi*' is a kind of Prakrit song adapted to music. It has four quarters or feet consisting of thirteen *mātras* each. It is of four kinds viz. *Śudhā Khaṇḍā*, *Mātrā* and *Sampūrṇā*. The half of *Śudhā* is known as *Khaṇḍā* variety of '*dvipadi*' :

> ...*Śuddhā khaṇḍā cha mātrā-cha sampūrṇeti chaturvidhā*
> *Dvipadī karṇākhyena tālena parigīyate*
> *Khaṇḍā syāch-chhuddhay-ārdhayā*...[31]

This helps to surmise that '*dvipadi*' was adapted to music and had become a part of the Classical technique while '*charcharī*' still remained a part of the '*deśi*' tradition having a folk inspiration, where there was a greater freedom as far as its technique was concerned.

In another context the '*charchari*' has been elaborately described in the *Ratnāvali* when Yaugandharāyaṇa speaks of his observations of the *Madana-Mahotsava*.[32] On hearing the loud noise of mixed sounds from behind the curtains Yaugandharāyaṇa remarks thus :

> . . . *Aye yathāyam-abhihanyamāna mṛidu-mṛidaṅg-ānugata gīta madhuraḥ puraḥ paurāṇāṁ samuchcharati charcharī dhyanis-tathā tarkayāmi madana mahamahī-yāṁsuṁ purajana pramodaṁ avalokayituṁ prāsāda-ābhimukhaṁ prasthito devaḥ iti* . . .[33]

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He says that on account of the huge gathering in front of the palace the mixed sound of the clapping of the hands of the citizens (*charchari-dhvani*) mixed with the melodious songs and accompanied by the mellow sounds of the tabors gently struck, he could easily conjecture that the king had started for the palace to witness the merriment of the citizens heightened by the *Madana* festival.

The Sanskrit commentary of this passage throws welcome light on this issue. It agrees with the surmise that the word '*charchari*' has a variety of meanings. Some scholars consider it to be a kind of song (as has been already discussed above) and some others as the clapping of hands (*kara-tāḍana-śabdaḥ*) as is the case in this context. Still a few others consider it to be some kind of a mixed noise. The word '*charcharikā*' according to this commentary means 'a mode of walking'.[34]

Another literary work which makes a specific reference to '*charchari*' is the *Karpūramañjari* of Rājashekhara. Although this is just a single reference in connection with the festivities of the *Vaṭa-Sāvitri-Vrata*, the description is vivid. From the expression '*tataḥ praviśati charchari*'[35] it is clear that by '*charchari*' implied both song and dance. Rājashekhara's description goes thus :

> . . . *Paribbhamantīu vichitta bandham imāu do-solaha nachchṇīo. Khelanti tālāṇuga appaāo tuhaṅgaṇe dīsai daṇḍa raso . . .*[36]

The English rendering of this verse from Lanman reads as follows :

'Circling around with charmingly varied pose of the hands and feet, these two and thirty dancing girls tread their mazy rounds, their steps keeping time with the music. In the court is seen the Staff-Dance'.[37] This rendering of Lanman though perfect in its literal sense fails to bring out the real purport of the verse and this happens partly on account of Lanman's inability to comprehend fully the meaning of '*daṇḍa-rāso*' (Sanskrit—*daṇḍa-rāsaka*).[38] In fact *Daṇḍa-Rāsaka* is a kind of folk-dance in which the dancers hold a pair of sticks (*daṇḍa*) in their hands and strike these sticks as they dance in a circle. A form of this dance can be seen even today in the regions of Saurāstra and Kāṭhiawād. In the light of the meaning of '*daṇḍa-rāsaka*', the above verse could be interpreted thus :

'The Vidūshaka requests his master the King to see (*dīśai*) the '*daṇḍa-rāsa*' which is being performed in the quadrangle of his palace. According to him these dancers who are thirty-two in number perform the '*daṇḍa-rāsa*' by moving around in a circle, gracefully linked with each other as they keep time with the music.' This indicates that the '*charchari*' which the King was supposed to witness was a kind of *Rāsaka* of which '*daṇḍa-rāsaka*' is also a type. Since in this particular context the dance was performed by a group of ladies it could also be considered as a *lāsya* type of dance. However, this meaning of the word '*charchari*', as opined by some scholars[39] is just contextual and cannot be always considered to mean a *lāsya* type of dance.

From the analysis of the description in the *Karpūramañjari* it appears that the term '*charchari*' denoted the mixed sound of merry-making in general which included

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dancing (like *daṇḍa-rāsaka challi* etc.) adorning of masks and playing with coloured water.[40] This suggests that the basic concept of '*charchari*' whether it was a song or a dance included the sentiment of *kolāhala, harsha-dhvani* etc. — i.e., the sentiment of rejoicing and festivity. '*Charchari*' thus had an audio-visual effect for it combined an animated recitation of a song along with active gesticulation of the body.

'*Charchari*' as being audio-visual is also suggested by Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmata* where he speaks of the witnessing of '*charchari*' by King Udayana on the eve of the festival of *Kusumāyudha*.[41] In another instance '*charchari*' is mentioned as a kind of *Tāla*.[42]

In the opinion of the author of *Sangīta Ratnākara*[43] '*charchari*' is a kind of metre which he suggests should be sung in Prakrit on the occasion of *Vasantotsava*. The *Bhāva Prakāsha* describes it as a kind of *abhinaya* wherein a couple of women participate.[44]

The *Nṛitta Ratnāvali* of Jāyasenapati, another treatise on dance explains '*charchari*' as a part of *rāsaka*[45] and states that the *rāsaka* itself becomes '*charchari*' when the dancers enter singing *charchari* songs in '*varṇa-tāla* or to the accompaniment of '*dvipadi*' songs. They present the *Śṛingāra* or the *Vīra Rasa* and describe the spring season or the qualities of their patron-king. The dance comprises of circling movements and is essentially a spring-dance.

> . . . *Charcharīm etad-ev-āhuḥ varṇa-tal-āñchitena chet Vādyena praviśeyustā gāyantyaś charcharīm kalam Dvipadīm vātha śṛingāra-vīrābhyām-ṛitu varṇanaiḥ Nāyakasya guṇa-khyāti prakhyāpana-padottaraiḥ Maṇḍalena pranṛityanti kāntā vāsantikotsave* . . .[46]

Raghavan while commenting on the above, points out that the description of '*charchari*' from Jāya 'drows clearly on the Ratnāvali and on Bhoja's description of the same in the *Śṛingāra Prakāsha*.[47] According to him '*charchari*' is otherwise called as '*nāṭya-rāsaka*'.[48] This is because the circling movement was an essential aspect of both the '*rāsaka*' as well as the '*nātya-rāsaka*' alias '*charchari*'.

Having surveyed some of the references to '*charchari*' in the literature and in the texts on music and dance the basic intent of this term could be summarised as follows:

(a) The intended meaning of '*charchari*' in Kalidasa's *Vikramorvaśīya* is that it is the loud recitation of couplets in Prakrit by Purūravā who feels depressed on being separated from his beloved. The dramatic movements of Purūravā during the course of this recitation which have been termed as '*charcharikā*' could also be included in this term.

(b) The reference to '*charchari*' in the *Ratnāvali* of Harsha is made basically in the sense of a big outburst of mixed noise (*dhvani*). It also hints at the applied meaning of '*charchari*' being a folk-song of '*deśi*' inspiration which is different from the songs like the '*dvipadi*' codified by Bharata.

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(c) By the time of Rājashekhara, the word '*charchari*' meant both a song and a dance and it had gained sufficient popularity. Its '*deśi*' affiliations still continued. Rājashekhara's equation of '*charchari*' with the '*rāsaka*' called '*daṇḍa-rāsaka*' in which as many as thirty-two dancers participated suggests that it was also a group recitation and a group dancing from which emanated pleasing noise and which was performed in a mood of excitement. Another fact which is not evident in the *Vikramoravaśiya* and can be only partially noticed in the *Ratnāvali* but which emerges out clearly in the *Karpūramañjarī* is that '*charchari*' was a *lāsya* type of dance. It had both the audio as well as the visual effect.

(d) Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmata* describes the '*charchari*' in a more or less similar vein. Like Someśvara he also refers to '*charchari*' as being one of the *tālas*. In this regard his references to '*charchari*' as being '*nṛityati paura janaugha*' and '*agaṇita vāchy-āvāchyam kṛiḍanti janāḥ pravṛiddha harsha-rasāḥ*, make the '*Kolāhala*' aspect of it more evident.

(e) '*Charchari*' according to the *Sangīta Ratnākara* is a metre of Prakrit compositions and suitable for recitation on the eve of *Vasantotsava*. There is also the indirect indication of the '*harsha-dhvani*' aspect of it.

(f) Like the description of '*charchari*' both as a song and a group dance (*rāsaka*) in the *Nṛitta Ratnāvali* suggests the idea of loud and mixed sound as a result of dancing in joy and merriment.

Keeping all these interpretations in mind, the basic meaning of the word '*charchari*' (besides its numerous other explanations like a song, *tāla*, a musical symphony, clapping of the hands, a dance, cries of merriment etc.) seems to be that which is given in the following couplet of the *Vaijayanti Kośa* :

Kolāhalaḥ kalakalaḥ kuñjan-āsmin-apakrudhi charchari charbhaṭi ... etc.

In the *Awadhi* dialect of Hindi the word '*chāchara*' or '*chānchara*' is used even today in the sense of making big noise. This word seems to be the direct *apabhraṁśa* of the Vedic word '*charchara*' and the Prakrit word *chachchara* or '*chāchchara*' seen *Vikramorvaśīya* and the '*Karpūramañjarī*'. The various applied connotations of the word '*charchari*' referred to in the different contexts above are equally noticed in the case of the word '*chāchara*' of the present-day *Awadhi* dialect as well; for example a group of children making noise is '*chāchara*'; people quarreling or shouting at each other is '*chāchara*'; a group of singers and dance creating mixed sound is '*chāchara*' and mirthfnl enthusiasts playing with colours as they sing, dance and play on the drums is also '*chāchara*'.

It would however seem unfair to dismiss '*charchari*' as simply meaning 'to make merry admist singing and random dancing'. The very fact that it finds a place in the later texts on *Sangīta* indicates that though it had casual beginnings, it did get systematised and codified in the later centuries into a more definite art-form, which included the three elements of music, dance and rhythmic time measure. In spirit it

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probably continued to be a manifestation of joy and mirth; nevertheless, this manifestation was not totally spontaneous but subject to a definite technique. It was essentially a part of the '*deśi paddhati*' for it does not find mention in the *Nāṭyāśāstra*. It called for the participation of more than one person who in all probability were women.

Like several other technical terminologies in *Sangīta* like *Tāṇḍava*, *Nṛitya* or *Nṛitta*, the term '*charchari*' too acquired an ambiguous and a diffused meaning due to its being loosely used in the course of the centuries in drama, poetry or literature. It must be however remembered that '*charchari*' is a definite variety of '*deśi-nṛitya*' which included music and rhythm and which in a definite form evolved in the later centuries. It's prolific occurrence in the literature of the earlier centuries indicates it's widespread popularity and prevalence which led to its codification in the later texts on music and dance.[49]

Notes and References

1. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 390.
2. *R.V.* X. 106.7 and the commentary of Sāyaṇa on the same.
3. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 390.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Śabda Kalpadruma*, II, p. 436.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Vāchaspatyam*, p. 2902.
10. Apte, Part II, p. 700.
11. *Amarakośa* (T.S. edition), 3.5.10.
12. *Ibid.*, commentary portion.
13. *Ibid.*, (Poona, 1877) with commentary of Maheśvara.
14. *Ibid.*, (N.S. Edition), Bombay, 1929 with commentary of Bhānuji Dikshit,
15. *Vaijayanti Kośa*, 2.4.27.
16. *Cf. Tato hala-halā śabdaḥ punaḥ kolāhalo-bhavat Rām.*
17. *Cf. Chalitayā vidadhe kala-mekhalā kala kalo-lakalola dṛiśānyayā* of *Śiśu* 6.14 and the usual *nepathye kalakalaḥ* of the Sanskrit dramas.
18. *Paia-Sadda Mahṇṇavo*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 397.
19. *Ibid., Cf.* quotation '*vitthariya charchcharī rava muhariya ujjaṇa bhūbhāge*' (of *Sura* 3.54) and '*paraṁbhiya chachcharīgīya*' (of *Supā* 55).
20. *Ibid., Cf.* of the quotation '*pavatte mayaṇa mahūsave niggayāsu vichitta vesāsu nayara charchcharīsu* and '*kahaṁ nīya charchcharī amhāṇa chachcharīye samāsannam parivvayai*' (of *Sa* and 2).
21. *Vikramo.* Act IV, Verses 10 ff. and 11 ff. etc. (N.S. Edition, Bombay, 1925 with the commentary of Ranganātha).
22. *Ibid.*, 10 and 11 ff, 18 ff.—*bhavatu yāvad-enām prichchhāmi*; 22 ff.—*parahrita vihageshu panḍitaishā jātiḥ yāvad-enām prichchhāmi*; 33-*haṁsa-prayachchha me kāntām* etc.; 34 ff.—*aye priyā sahāyaś-chakravākas-tishṭhati tāvad-enāṁ prichchāmi*; 45, 49-50, 54, 57-59, etc.

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23. *Ibid.*, Verse 70. The Sanskrit rendering of the same is given as follows .
Mayūraḥ parabhṛid-haṁso rathāṅgo
Alir-gajaḥ parvataḥ sarit-kuraṅgaḥ
Tava kāraṇen-āraṇye bhramatā
Ko na khalu prishṭo mayā rudatā
24. *Ibid.*, p. 92, Commentary portion.
25. *Ibid.*, Ed. by Kale M.R., Bombay, 1932, Notes p. 93.
26. *Ibid.*, (N.S. edition), p. 97. Cf. *charcharikayopaviśya* and *charcharikayā vilokya*, etc. See also pp. 102, 104 and 109 etc.
27. *Ratnāvali of Harsha*, ed. Kale M.R., Bombay, 1925, Act I, pp. 15-16.
28. *Ibid* , p. 14. *Tataḥ praviśato madana-līlām nāṭayantyau dvipadi-khaṇḍam gāyantyau cheṭyau.*
29. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Quoted by Kale (p. 14). We regret that we could not locate this verse in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. See also the Sanskrit commentary on '*dvipadi Khanda*' of *Ratnāvali* which says : *Bhaved dvipadikā gītir-Bharāten prakīrtitā, yuktā chaturbhiś-charaṇais trayodaśa kalāmakaiḥ.*
32. *Ratnāvali*, 1.7 ff., p. 9.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, p. 7 and the notes of Kale, p. 10.
35. *Karpūramañjari* IV. 9 ff. (ed) by Konow, S. and Lanman C.R., H.O.S. Cambridge, 1901) and the transaction with notes, p. 279, f.n. 6.
36. *Ibid.*, IV. 11.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
38. *Ibid.*, f.n. 4 where he himself admits it.
39. Shastri, M.A., *Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta*, Delhi, 1975, p. 160 f.n. 1.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Kuṭṭanīmata* ed. Kaul, M., Calcutta, 1944, verse 885; *Prāsādam-āruhantam kusumāyudhaparva charcharīm-drashṭum.*
42. *Ibid.*, Verse 903; *Hāsya-tray-ābhirāmam charchari tālena tan-madhye*; See also Shastri, A.M., *op. cit.*, p. 160 and *Mānasollāsa* Vim. 4: 16: *tālaśch-aish-ātra charcharī.*
43. *Sangīta Ratnākara*, IV. 292-93.
44. *Bhāva Prakāsha*, Ch. 9.
45. *Nritta Ratnāvali* of Jāya Senapati ed. Raghavan, V., Madras, 1965, VII. 98-99.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
48. *Śringāra Prakāsha* of Bhoja ed. by Raghavan, V, Madras, 1963, pp. 562-63.
49. I am grateful to Km. Hema Govindarajan for providing me a good number of references and also for her valuable suggestions in this regard.

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33

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF BUDDHISM AT MATHURA—A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY

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By a general definition, it means that the evidence revealed from excavation constitutes the main body of material for reconstructing the evidence of Buddhism at Mathura. In real parlance, whatever evidence revealed itself belies the very definition, since no excavation of a real archaeological merit has been undertaken to collect all the varied data and observing the material at each stage with a scientific spirit that can be a base to reconstruct the evidence of the remains cogently. In other words, the recording of all the evidence apart from sculptures such as small finds, ceramics etc., was ignored and hence most of the material evidence that could have helped in assessing the cultural evidence has been totally lost. Hence the main emphasis was laid only on collection of sculptures, other carvings of artistic merit and those with inscriptions and others were left out or was not left to be of such importance. Hence whatever is collected here for this evidence consists of the sculptures and this is the only evidence that has been taken into consideration for assessing the importance of Buddhism at Mathura. Thus following are the various aspects which will be discussed for understanding the archaeological evidence:

(1) Ancient Mathura, a brief description and its importance.

(2) Enumeration of the Buddhist finds as far as possible chronologically in the order of discoveries from the date of the first find from A.D. 1836 to 1960.

(3) Brief description of the sculptures and other objects of artistic value and analyse their cultural implications in the area of their findings.

(4) The provenance of the Buddhist centres in Ancient Mathura and their significance.

Mathura situated on the right bank of the river Yamuna was an important centre of Buddhism from very early times. It had an advantageous geographical

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situation primarily commanding the commercial routes from the north-west to the plains of the Ganga and to the Dakshināpatha and thus played a significant role in the political, economic and cultural life of the country during the early Historic period.

It is well-known that Buddhist centres followed the trade routes and among the commercial community, Buddhism found its staunch adherents. This was one of the reasons for the flourishing nature of Mathura both as a commercial and religious centre, where artistic abilities were patronised and nurtured on a large scale during the second century B.C. to the fourth-fifth century A.D.

Its importance was accentuated as a Buddhist centre during the rule of Saka-Kushans, when the artistic activity was at a maximum and the *l'ateliers* found the centre a fitting place for exercising their talents under their Masters. Mathura as a creative centre of Buddhism flourished during the Gupta period, which absorbed variety of fashions and trends and created objects of visual and spiritual energy that can be considered as the unique creations of the times.

All this is known mostly by numerous discoveries of sculptures and inscriptions from time to time. Situated as the town was, on the *sārthavāhapatha*, it was the highway on which many of the invaders pushed through to the many towns of the Gangetic Valley and to the south-west and south. Many a time this town must have been invaded and destroyed. Yet it is difficult to state whether dislocation of images is due to destruction or to any other reasons. However, it is certain that after the Gupta period, Mathura did not play a significant role in the history of Buddhism and its epi-centre shifts to the western and eastern parts of the country. The importance of Buddhism and its prevalence has been revealed mostly by the discoveries of sculptures, pillars, pillar-bases, other carvings that once adorned the *stupas*, monasteries and other edifices that existed at Mathura. A real problem arises as to the way in which the entire material could be classified or any distinguishing pattern that can be adopted to systematically place them in a sequence or order.

Hence a safe course that can be adopted is to describe in brief the discoveries in chronological order from A.D. 1836, the first reported finding of Mathura sculpture. A rational order from among the findings and to assess the placement in terms of a chronological sequence is not possible as the provenance itself is likely to be questionable. As an example to quote *in extenso* F.S. Growse's experience who has done so much to Mathura by retrieving the sculptures and identifying the town as an ancient centre; he says for the *in situ* position at Kankāli-tīla, "it is worthy of remark that no definite line of foundation has been ever brought to light, nor any large remains of plain masonry superstructure, but only a confused medley of broken statues without even the pedestals on which they must have been originally erected. This suggests a suspicion that possibly there never was a temple at the site but that the sculptures were brought from different places and thrown into the pit again... on the whole, I conclude that the discovery of no foundations *in situ* rather to be explained by the fact that the mound has long served as a quarry and that bricks

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and small blocks of stone being more useful for ordinary building purposes would all be removed when cumbrous and broken would be left behind."

Any discussion on the basis of their findings at a particular place from among them to bring out a sequential order is also likely to lead to many fallacies as it has happened in many cases, and so far any attempt made in this direction has not yielded any fruitful or tangible result.

The earliest known discovery of sculptures at Mathura was during 1836 when Col. L.R. Stacy found a Bacchanalian group and also a railing pillar similar to those from Bhuteshwar both of which were deposited later in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The railing pillar has scenes carved from Jataka tales such as the miracle of Rajagrha Nalagiri elephant episode and on of verse with an Yakshi standing with a dwarf below and holding a cage in her right hand and the bird perched on her left shoulder.

In 1835 Gen. Cunningham visited and explored Mathura for Buddhist remains. He noticed some carved pillars and a capital at Katra Keshavadeva. One of them is a fragment of a railing pillar with a Yakshi standing below a tree and a fragmentary inscription containing the geneaology of Gupta emperors down to Samudragupta. He also mentions "two large capitals of columns one is no less than 3' dia. with a shaft of 23" dia 'but its present location or where abouts is not known."

In 1862, Gen. Cunningham again visited Keshavadeva obtained an architrave with Buddhist scenes with a gateway represented in it. An important find is a standing Buddha image from a well, nearby inscribed stating that it was dedicated by the Buddhist Bhikshuni Jayabhatta to the Yasa vihare in Gupta year 230 (A.D. 549-50). In the same well were also found five other pieces of sculptures including a colossal *arm*, hand and an image of Buddha in meditation with an inscription (broken) in Gupta characters.

In 1860, when the foundation of the collector's court house was laid, about two km south-east of Keshavadeva, the site proved to be prolific with Buddhist sculptures that it is presumed to be a monastic establishment. The place was called Jamalpur (Jail mound as it was styled by some) when the mound was cleared, it yelded rich stock of images, bas-reliefs, railings, pillars and pillar-bases. Prominent among them perhaps belonged to a colonnade enclosing the inner courtyard of a Buddhist monastery which as per the inscriptions was built in the year 47 of the Kanishka's era during the reign of his son Huvishka. It was existing during the fifth century A.D. as can be inferred from an inscription dated in Gupta era 135 (A.D. 454-55) and from an inscribed standing Buddha image, dedicated by Buddhist Bhikku Yasadinna, both on the same site. These were discovered when the final clearance took place, shortly after 1860.

Among other sculptures, mention can be made of two standing and seated Buddha images, three lion figures, fragment of a cross-bar, coping stone and the railing pillars. Growse who records most of the sculptures found at Jamalpur mentions

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one of the inscriptions dated in the reign of Kanishka and several others in that of Huvishka as well as the one erected for the temple of Dadhikarna Nāga. He also further records the finding of lower parts of two large seated figures, one of which is a Buddha image and the other is a mother and child relief with five small figures adjacent to her and at back.

Some interesting data for the Buddhist establishment here is revealed from the inscriptions. A base of one of the pillars was dedicated to the Vihāra of *mahārāja rājā di rāja devaputra* Huv (i) ska and is confirmed by another one on the pedestal of a Buddhist image in S. 51, which cleans the idea that the *vihāra* certainly existed here.

Another *vihāra* also seems to have existed nearby. In 1863, Gen. Cunningham found the name of the *Kunda suka-vihāra* on a large stone slab unearthed from the Jail mound.

In 1869, Mathura was visited by Bhagvanlal Indraji who made two important findings, one a female statue from Saptarishi tila "in style and material prove to be a Gandhara sculpture" and another is a famous lion sculpture with eighteen Kharoshthi inscriptions throwing light on the Satraps who ruled Mathura.

In 1871 Gen. Cunningham again revisited Mathura and mainly concentrated clearance on two important sites, the Kankāli-tila and the Chaubāra mounds; the former situated a km to the south of Keshavadeva was an important Jaina establishment. Gen. Cunningham obtained images of Jaina *tīrthankaras* bearing inscriptions ranging in date from years 5 in the reign of Kanishka to the year 98 in that of Vāsudeva.

Between Keshavadeva and Kankāli-tila there stood a high mound named after the modern temple of Bhūteshwar. On top of the mound there stood once a large railing pillar carved with Yakshi and also representations of Jataka scenes.

Nearby, in the season of 1871-72, Gen. Cunningham found five railing pillars consisting of Yakshis standing on dwarf and above depicted on balcony with mithunas in many poses; the obverse of each of those pillars were carved with Jataka stories such as Vessāntara, Vyāghri and Kachchhapa Jatakas and events in Buddha's life. Cunningham states that they were believed to have been discovered in the Bhūteshwar mound and is indeed very probable, if the mound is the site of a Buddhist *stupa* of which those railing pillars formed part. Possibly one of the railing pillars obtained by Col. Stacy in 1836 also belongs to this group.

Gen. Cunningham also simultaneously explored Chaubāra mounds about five km south-west of Keshavadeva consisting of a group of twelve circular mounds from a rest house (chaubāra) once stood there. In 1868 when Sonkh road was laid through in one of these mounds (mound D) a gold reliquary was found. In another mound (mound A) an excavation was found at the centre of a brick-built *stupa*, a steatite casket (presently in the Indian Museum, Calcutta). In yet another one (mound B) was found Persepolitan capital formed by four recumbent animals with human faces, possessing horns and wings. A fourth mound (named C) yielded a seated

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colossal draped Buddha, head and right knee in fragments. Another find is a part of a seated image with left hand resting on the left knee.

These finds prove that the mounds A and D were Buddhist *stupas* and mound C was certainly the site of a Buddhist sanctuary. From small fragments round about mound B, Cunningham came to the conclusion that B was also Buddhist in nature and there is nothing in the large capital extracted from the mound to contradict the thesis.

Subsequent explorations of these mounds by Growse yielded valuable sculptures. During the period of his collectorate at Mathura, Growse examined most of the ancient sites around the city and neighbourhood and acquired an important collection of sculptures on his own during 1874-76. Some of them include an image of Buddha, "of very Egyptian cast of features" (apparently from the Chaubāra which yielded the relic casket previously) with a round hole in the forehead possibly for inserting a precious stone to indicate *ūrna*, lower portion of the seated Buddha with an inscription in the year 33 of Huvishka's reign, several pillars and cross-bars, small figurines, animals, grotesques and decorative patterns. A sculpture "representing a capacious throne . . . with a foot-stool in front some drapery spread over the seat on which is placed a relic casket. In the back are two figures leaning over the high back of the chair." Though reported by Growse, it seems to have been untraceable.

From the inscription of a railing pillar from Chaubāra mound, it appears that the *stūpa* existed already in the middle of the first century A.D. The inscription dated in S.33 gives Madhuravanaka as the name of the *stūpa*. Growse also mentions that in mound A he found a small stone fragment with the letters *budhānam* and in another mound on the margin of a dry tank in the neighbourhood, yet another stone with the letters *dānam cha*.

Besides, the main sites, Growse speaks of several extensive mounds nearby at most of them he had some trial digging. One of the mounds, near the boundary pillar of Mathura, Māholi and Pali-khera due south of Kankāli-tīla and east of Girdharpur mound yielded the famous Yaksha-Kubera. The most interesting find among the sculptures in 1873-74 is the so-called Bacchanalian group which he obtained from a mound outside the village of Pālikhera, situated 5 km south-west of Katra Keshava-deva. It is possibly the counterpart of Col. Stacy's "Silenus" and there is reason to support that this sculpture originates from the same site.

In the same mound, an important find was made by Growse in 1873-74 which may not go un-noticed. He discovered *in situ* "there bell-shaped bases of large columns of 13' distance from one another at the three corners of a square...in the space between pillar-bases were found some small figurines of broken clay, glazed of a bluish colour similar in character to the toys still sold in Hindu Fairs; also a few small fragments of carved stone and some carved pieces of metal bangles." It is a tragedy all these seem to have gone un-noticed and un-recorded and lost. The "bluish glaze" possibly indicate Kushana glazing or the polish of NBP in figurines. Such exact finds

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which could have helped in assessing the cultural implications have been altogether lost.

Further in 1874 he proceeded to explore a very large mound situated half-a-km to the south-west of Jamalpur the digging yielded a mass of broken bricks of very large size, a massive stone slab and the rounded pedestal of pillar.

Close to it a km west of Jamalpur mound bordering the circular road was a small mound possibly a site of Buddhist sanctuary. Two finds are of significance, one is that of a stead Bodhisattva and the other a female figure with a child in her lap. The pedestal of the Bodhisattva figure bears an inscription in pre-Kushan script, the spot from where the image came is a monastery which dates back to the first century B.C. or even earlier.

Further at Girdharpur itself, a village situated 5 km west-south/west of Mathura city, Growse records "within the borders of Girdharpur may be traced a very extensive tank now converted into ploughed fields with a series of mounds all round its margin. These are unquestionably Buddhist *stūpas* and will be examined. They are covered with small fragments of carved stone, indicating here that destruction was more than usually complete and that the images were not only thrown down but broken to pieces."

Few sculptures were recovered from here among them, one of which bears an inscription of the pre-Kushana times. In 1882, Gen. Cunningham revisited Mathura and acquired another sculpture depicting "Heracles strangling the Namaean lion". Of other finds mention can be made of a pillar with a dedicatory inscription in early *Brāhmī* of the Mauryan script found at Arjunpura Mohalla, situated to the north-west of Sitālaghāti. Unfortunately it could not be found or traced.

At another site Kota, a village about 5 km north of Mathura, he discovered a number of antiquities, among them sixteen railing pillars all originating from a long mound to the north of the *kund* of the village. None of them bear any inscription. Possibly these pillars indicate that a Buddhist *stūpa* existed. From one of the pillars which show a male figure in typical Indo-Scythian dress, it could be inferred that the railing pillar was erected in the Kushana period and a pedestal found in the mound bears an inscription in Kushana characters.

In three seasons of 1888-1891 Fuhrer excavated at Kankāli-tīla and Katra site; the former essentially consists of a prosperous Jaina establishment which revealed, no less than 737 pieces of sculptures and epigraphical documents which found later secure repository at the Lucknow Museum. Of interest is the excavations which he made at Keshavadeva. He dug up a trial trench 80′ long and 20′ broad and 25' deep in the hope of exposing the foundations and some of the sculptures of the ancient Keshava-deva temple. However, none of the hopes—for Brahmanical sculptures, were discovered, but only fragments belonging to an ancient Buddist *stūpa*.

He rocords, "At a depth of 20', I came across a portion of a circular processional path leading round the *stūpa*; on the pavement composed of large red sand-stone slabs, a short dedicatory inscription was discovered according to which the *stūpa* was

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repaired in *samvat* 76 by the Kushana king Vasiskha. Unfortunately I was unable to continue the work and lay bare, the whole procession path as the walls of the brick substructures adjoining the Masjid are built right across the middle of the stupa."

This inscription was never published nor are there estampages or photographs of it in existence.

In 1911-12 Pandit Radhakrishna tried to recover it, but his endeavours were in vain. On the spot indicated only the remains of a brick *stupa* which came to light but according to Vogel this monument cannot be assigned to a date earlier to the sixth century A.D. The numerous sculpture fragments obtained in the course of excavations are mostly of a later date and appear to belong to Keshavadeva (Kesab Dev) temple. Considering the information of Fuhrer's reports, there seems to be doubt about the Vasiskha's inscription. Katra mound has revealed only a few *Brahmī* inscriptions, which nonetheless are of value but not such an extent of earlier date.

At the same time it has to be clearly stated that in the Katra site there appears to have been a Buddhist *vihāra* already at the beginning of the second century A.D.

A statuette was purchased by Pandit Radhakrishna from a *Brāhmin* who is said to have found it, digging a well at Katra site. A *prākrit* inscription in characters of early Kushana period on the pedestal states that the image was set up by a certain Amohaasi, the mother of Buddarakksita in her own *vihara*. Amohaasi's *vihara* was replaced by the Yasavihara or the two *viharas* existed side by side cannot be stated.

This is, in a nutshell, the first stage of explorations for the finds of sculptures and tracing the ancient sites at Mathura and its antecedents, ever since it began in A.D. 1836 to 1896.

The next stage of explorations of ancient Mathura beings in about A.D. 1907 and continues for two decades or so. It consists of excavations of a few sites, already well-known for their relics and get cultural evidence before further destruction takes place.

In 1911-12, excavations were carried out at a number of sites by Pandit Radhakrishna, the foremost of them at Mat, Mora, Ganeshra, Naugavā, Jaisinghpura and Keshavadeva.

Mat is situated about 14½ kms north of the city of Mathura on the left bank of Jamuna and the elevated mound is known as Tokri Tīla. Of the buildings, scanty remains are left, much of them removed by the villagers for their building constructions. From the remains it appears to belong to rectangular plinth measuring about 34 m from east and west and 16 m from north to south. A flight of steps from the east led to the circular structure in the centre. On the south, there were found remnants of masonry foundations possibly suggesting some rows of dwelling rooms. To the west of the plinth was a tank partly excavated. As it was built of large bricks of the same size as those used in the plinth, it is perhaps contemporary with the building. Two inscriptions found disclose the history of the buildings. It

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records the construction of a temple (*devakula*) a tank (*puskarini*) a hall (*sabha*) and a gateway (*darakothaka*) it could be inferred that all these date from the beginning of Kanishka's time or even earlier.

The other inscription belongs to the time of Huvishka; it mentions again the temple and the tank (talāga) but its proper object is to record to restore the temple apparently gone out of repair. On the supposed temple site stood the lower portion of a colossal statue of a Kushana king seated on his throne. The upper portion of the statue was discovered near the tank, worshipped as Varuna by the villagers; Vogel thinks that the statue was wilfully broken.

To the so-called temple environs, remnants of three images were found. The first is a life-size standing figure with the head and the arms lost. The inscription records it as the portrait of Kanishka. The second is the lower half of a standing image of life-size proportions accompanied by a Yaksha on his right side and a lion carved on the back of the sculpture. Of the third only the pedestal is preserved, the person represented was possibly another Kushana prince.

The art of these portraits are realistic and impressively factual. The portrait of Kanishka is quite impressive being conceived frontally, through bold straight lines. The mace and the sword are the fitting emblems of the imperial dignitary, that is effectively brought out.

Mora village has yielded earlier, an important inscription mentioning Mahākshtrāpa Sodasa and also a male bust representing 'Vrshni' heroes. Excavation was undertaken to get further evidence, but the yield was not that expected, except a large number of inscribed bricks datable to the third and the second century B.C.

Another site is Ganēshrā, situated five km west of Mathura and to the north of the road to Govardhan, proved already that it must have been occupied by a Buddhist sanctuary during the period of Kushanas. It consists of three ancient mounds where in the past, the site has yielded several artistic objects including a life-size Bodhisattva collected by Fuhrer. A seated Bodhisattva was obtained by Pt. Radhakrishna from the well nearby. An incomplete inscription found records the construction of a *stūpa* at this place. A stone parasol found perhaps indicate, it once surmounted the stupa. The mentioning of Kshaharata possibly connect the western Kshatrapas and the rulers of Mathura. In addition about twenty-four inscribed bricks and brick bats were found datable to the third-second century B.C. A few sculptures in fragments such as a Bodhisattva head with turban and mortise-hole at top and numerous fragmentary railings with rosette decorations are also worth nothing.

Pandit Radhakrishna obtained during clearance of village Naugava 7 km south-west of Mathura city, a pedestal of seated Buddha image with an inscription mentioning the gift to the *vihāra* here.

Jaisinghpura, five km from Mathura, on the direction of Vrindavan also marks possibly a Buddhist sanctuary. Growse obtained railings of the Bhuteshwar type. Some trial diggings were carred out which revealed, fragments of Buddha images and

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of very elaborate halos, some lion figures and fragments of stone railing, ascribable to the Kushana and Gupta periods.

In 1911-12 Katra Keshavadeva was again excavated to verify further the details excavated earlier by Fuhrer. The inscription excavated by him here was neither published nor was known to exist.

Since the discovery of Isāpur inscription mentioning Vasishka, it was all the more essential to get the particulars from this site. Unfortunately the excavations could not yield the desired evidence. An important find however is a fragmentary inscription in *Brāhmi* of Kushana times.

In the years 1914-15, a number of wells in the city of the ancient environs and the neighbourhood were cleared, as a result of which, hundreds of sculptures were obtained. To enumerate atleast superficially is a real task, but the wells nearby the ancient mounds have yielded them which could possibly be of some consequence. Such of them include, seated Buddha from Keshavadeva well, Bodhisattva from Kankāli-tila well, Bodhisattva Maitreya from Salempur well, headless Buddhas from Ganesh Tila and Jaisinghpura wells, a Buddha and Maitreya from Pālikhera well-II, Dhyani Buddhas (headless) Rāniwalā and Mansāwala well etc. These sculptures were presumably thrown as a safe refuge for images in times of imminent danger or invasion and calamity to the religious edifices.

In 1915-16, trial excavations undertaken by Pandit Radhakrishna at Palīkherā resulted in unearthing the stone-bowl with the inscription which proves that the sanctuary was a *vihāra* of the Mahāsānghika school and the Bodhisattva image bearing inscription was also found from there. A detached head with an inscription shows that the statue of an Indo-Scythian prince was set up at that place, assignable to the Kushana period.

In 1916, when digging for laying the pipe-line by the water works Department, Mathura was carried out, many sculptures were brought to light, which include small Buddha head, Bodhisattva, Bodhisattva Maitreya etc.

At Anyōr village, situated to the south-eastern foot of the Girirāja or Gōvardhana hill possibly indicates during the Kushana times or even before that it must have been the site of a Buddhist *vihāra*. Pandit Radhakrishna obtained two statues worshipped as Goddess Durga, but originally Buddha bearing inscriptions.

In 1918, some trial digging was conducted at Bajna which has also yielded some sculptures. Notable among them are life-size image of Bodhisattva-Maitreya, pedestal of a seated Buddha image on a lion throne, standing Buddha figure, fragment probably of an attendant of a Buddha figure holding chauri, as well as a Buddha with moustache indicating Gandharan affinities.

In 1922-23, some clearance was made at Naroli, a village five km south-east of Maholi which has yielded some Buddhist remains. Prominent among them is a group depicting Bacchanalean scene similar to that from Palīkherā, presently deposited in Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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In 1938, some accidental digging followed by regular clearance has yielded important evidence of Buddhist sculptures at Maholi. The village Maholi is situated four km. south-west of Mathura city. Its ancient name is said to be Madhuban or Madhupuri. The ancient mounds to the north of the village was quite considerable and continued upto Pālikherā and Girdharpur and connected to Chaubāra. It rose about $2\frac{1}{2}$ m high from the surroundings and 120 m long with cultural deposits.

Foremost among the sculptures is the colossal standing Bodhisattva image in full-size and undamaged. Iconically it is very important since only two other images of similar size are known (one from Sarnath and another from Sahet-Maheth, Sravasti) with a dedicatory inscription. A fragment representing a parasol (*chhatri*) was also found near the pedestal of this image and in original it could have been about 2.70 m square. A piece of brass found sticking to the hole indicate arrangement for fixing the parasol to the image. Another sculpture is the Bacchanalean group carved on both sides. Originally this group supported a bowl which rested on top of an Ashoka tree of which leaf remnants are visible. Other Bacchanalean group already known include those from Pālikherā and Kankāli-tila, all closely situated. This group from Maholi formed part of the religious complex perhaps enshrined in the structure. It is quite another aspect to discuss its placement and role in the religious edifice. Another important find is a stone fragment with the Bodhisattva on the pedestal which was engraved with an inscription recording year 92 in the reign of Vasudeva, the name of the monastery called Khanda-Vihāra by one Grahadāsaka, possibly creating a Buddhist establishment including a *stūpa* on Maholi mound. But the object dedicated is left unfinished in the inscription.

This is the end of the second stage of explorations of ancient Mathura and its neighbouring villages. Apart from these findings, quite a large number of records of sculptures were made from time to time, like stray discoveries from clearance of old houses, rebuilding in foundations, laying down roads, drainage etc. Another sizeable number of findings are also known from ancient river bed of Jamuna, almost annually from flooding and other causes.

In 1955-56 when digging operations were conducted on the western outliers of the Mathura township for construction of a bye-pass for Delhi-Bombay highway, a number of Buddhist sculptures were obtained at a place called Sarai Āzampur 5 km north-west of Mathura. Previously also, the adjacent areas have revealed, several Buddhist relics such as railing pillars etc., possibly marking it on an area is some Buddhist establishment. Notable finds among them include, standing Bodhisattva figures holding lotus garlands four of them seated, Buddha figures, (three numbers) seated image of Maitreya Buddha's crown, an architectural piece and a lion rider. In the Bodhisattva and Buddha figures, the pedestal bears the name of the sculptor *Vishnunā*. The Buddha's crown has the name *simhasya*.

In the same period, on this bye-pass road, opposite Chaurāsi-tila, digging has also yielded two big upright pillars and one coping stone—possibly belonging to a Buddhist *stūpa* of about the second century A.D. One of the pillars is the biggest

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Buddhist architectural piece so far discovered in Mathura. It measures about 3.1 m and carved on three sides with palm-leaf design, peacocks, panels with a princely figure in adoration, a male and female figure in similar position in series, and the uppermost panels show Buddha seated on a high pedestal.

A review of details stated above will give a glimpse of how disconnected the account is in its barest outline. The recorded details, though very sketchy by themselves are rich, varied and sumptuous. At the same time there is no systematic work that has been carried out ever since the first discovery of the sculptures.

Two aspects of the whole scheme of explorations, clearance and digging during the last more than a century at Mathura is quite apparent. Primarily there was an urge to get the best of the artistic sculptures without understanding other cultural components. Secondly to explore as many habitation sites on ancient mounds as possible and to dig them at places in random or where evidence of sculptures reported at times to get the maximum of artistic objects thereby creating problems not only to the standing structures such as buildings and other religious edifices, but also creating confusion for future digging to get valuable evidence.

Almost every mound at Mathura and its neighbourhood has underwent this piece of experience and disturbance, dislocating the cultural complexities which otherwise could have been useful to reconstruct the evidence.

It was a primary mistake that such importance was attached to sculptures and inscriptions in the light of which, the architectural and other aspects were wholly neglected. In the course of excavation, remains of structural complexes were found and in some cases architectural members were observed *in situ*. It is true that at Kankāli-tila Growse could not get any line of foundations (as stated in the beginning of the paper) whereas Gen. Cunningham clearly emphasises, brick walls and pavements at this site or for that matter Fuhrer speaks of Jain buildings at this place. At Chaubara, Growse noticed pavements with three pedestals and in Pālikhera, large volumes of stones *in situ*. None of them could possibly conjecture further except mentioning them in passing.

Presently the sculptures, especially of Buddhist is very considerable to reconstruct the various establishments of Buddhist order at Mathura. Unfortunately the great lacunae is in the absence of plans, due to which particulars are not forthcoming regarding the components of buildings to which these sculptures belonged. What is much more problematic is that in many of them it is very difficult to decide from what particular mound the sculptures or the groups were recovered. Only in the case of inscriptions it was recorded that was from such a place with details.

Some attempts have been made in the past to identify the names of the localities of the Buddhist establishments in ancient Mathura. Gen. Cunningham and Growse have attempted to identify some places mentioned by Hieun Tsang but could not succeed. They assumed that Katra Keshavadeva as a centre of the ancient town

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of Mathura but the contour lines and elevation indicate that the ancient city is much further south-west and east spread more than two km occupied by the present township.

It has been indicated that danger is involved in assuming that concentration of a number of sculptures at a particular place might suggest it to be a religious establishment. At some sites, digging could not yield structural features, though sculptures were found in abundance. At the same time at Mathura it has been the experience of earlier explorers that much of the evidence of a standing structure has been erased from living memory and the area left to the vagaries of nature. This is proved by the remains of foundation of standing pillars *in situ* and other debris such as brick-bats etc.

To a certain extent some deduction has been made on the basis of inscriptional evidence and remain of *in situ* features of sculptures reported.

Katra Keshavadeva seems to have been the site of a cluster of Buddhist establishments, as revealed by the inscription naming it Yaśa-*vihara* existing possibly upto the fifth-sixth century A.D. Bhuteswar railing pillars much huge in size along with the coping stones etc. reveal a *stupa* on the levelled pediments in the neighbourhood. This could be visualised *vis-a-vis* reported find of the *pradkshinapatha* of the *stupa* of Fuhrer's excavations at the high ground of Katra Keshavadeva.

The main group of the elevated mounds at Chaubara have yielded a number of railings, especially the three pedestals found by Growse *in situ*, the findings of relic caskets evidently indicate a *stupa* in the surroundings.

Many dated sculptures railing pillars and a variety of sculptural fragments from Jamalpur indicate the concentration of an establishment of Buddhist order as supported by further incriptional evidence that it was found by Huvishka in the year 47 of Emperor Kanishka's reign. It was also flourishing as is Katra almost up to the fifth century A.D.

Apart from these many other ancient sites near about Mathura have also yielded Buddhist sculptures which could possibly claim to the pre-eminence of being the nucleus of a religious edifice. Some of the ancient places include the Arjunpura mound, Dhru and Sapatarishi mounds, Maholi and adjacent area.

Most of the sites are indeed taken over fast by modern developments of house-building and other activities that is likely soon to cluster the ancient map of Mathura.

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34

A NOTE ON THE ABHAYA AND THE VARADA HASTA-MUDRĀ IN DANCE AND IN ICONOGRAPHY

HEMA GOVINDARAJAN*

The close liaison which exists between Indian religion, Indian Dancing and the Indian art of sculpture and iconography is only too evident and religion appears to have been the prime motivating factor for the growth and development of these arts. It has always been the Goddesses and the Gods of the Hindu Pantheon who have been the major themes for depiction in sculpture and iconography; likewise the art of dancing has always sought inspiration from the religious scriptures which include the *Purāṇas* and the entire host of other mythological literature for theme or presentation. The Gods and the Goddesses have been described in literature and depicted in sculpture as being excellent dancers. So deeply has religion seeped into these arts that the art of dancing actually claims a religious origin.[1]

In the *Vishṇu Dharmōttara Purāṇa* the link between the two arts of sculpture and dancing has been clearly revealed. When King Vajra requests Sage Mārkaṇḍeya to brief him on the tenets of painting and iconography the learned sage asks him to first of all delve into the mysteries of the art of dancing. This is natural because there exists an innate inter-relationship between these various arts.[2] Both the sculptor and the dancer make use of the human form as their medium of expression and hence both believe in an exhaustive study of body movement and corporal kinetics. Establishing an identity and giving a concrete representational form through the human body to a particular thought or theme has led to the elaborate development of the language of gestures in both these arts. These gestures are invaluable because of their inherent power of suggestion. Each gesture evokes in the mind of the observer certain ideas which help him to comprehend better what is being communicated. Hand gestures are usually called as '*Hasta*' in dance and '*Mudrā*' in iconography. It is not uncommon to see priests and devotees even to this day, making peculiar movements of the hands and the fingers during a religious ceremony. These gestures are significant for they have certain specific implications pertaining to obeisance and ablution and

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they call for proper initiation before they are done. The performance of these gestures are considered to intensify thought and augment concentration, thus improving the quality of prayer and meditation. In iconography and in dancing these hand gestures are used to represent the various Gods and Goddesses besides communicating other relevant ideas. The *Śilpaśāstras* speak of '*Mudrās*' while referring to the various poses and positions of the hands, and of '*Hasta*' while referring especially to the position of the entire arm.[3]

Two universal sentiments prompt to pray to the Supreme one,—the feeling of insecurity and thereby the sentiment of fear, and the feeling of 'want' which results in his asking for more. Therefore, whatever the cult may be, every deity is portrayed as a Protector and as a Bestower to comply with the chief needs of the man who created Him. Thus, no matter in what form He is conceived, every diety of the Hindu Pantheon is necessarily projected as a Protector and as a Boon-Giver. These two activities of the Gods and the Goddesses are termed as "*Abhaya*" and "*Varada*" repectively. It may be of interest to study the gestural representation of these two attitudes in dance and in iconography.

The Abhaya and the *Varada-Hastas* are probably amongst the most commonly and extensively used hand gestures, if not in dance certainly in iconography. As mentioned earlier, almost every deity has been conceived (in one occasion or the other) as a Protector and a Bestower of Boons and therefore images of these divinities commonly present the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Mudrās*. In the art of dancing too these *Hastas* are used to depict divinities while describing similar situations. Almost all the Indian Purāṇic and the mythological love have been woven around different tales which speak of the Gods who on different occasions granted boons to their devotees or afforded protection to them in time of crisis or tribulations. The *Abhaya* and the *Varada-Hastas* have been used in the Buddhist iconography too. It must be remembered however that normally, the *Mudrās* are not assigned to as specific a depiction in the Brāhmanic iconography as they are in the Buddhist iconography.

The *Abhaya Hasta* or *Mudrā* is that hand gesture which symbolises the attitude 'No Fear'. It indicates peace, tranquillity, fearlessness, re-assurance and protection and is iconographically depicted by the hand which is held with its palm facing outwards and the fingers pointing upwards. The *Varada Hasta* or *Mudrā* is the 'Boon Conferring' or the 'Gift Bestowing' attitude and it is iconographically depicted by the hand which is held with its palm facing outwards and the fingers pointing downwards. Though the hands could be held at different levels; normally the *Abhaya Hasta* is assumed in the region of the chest or the shoulder (*Vaksha* or *Skandha Kshetra*) and the *Varada Hasta* in the region of the hip or the side (*Kaṭi* or *Pārśva Kshetra*). It is usually the right hand which depicts the *Abhaya Hasta* and the left hand which depicts the *Varada Hasta*. However, there are a few examples in Indian iconography wherein this convention has not been strictly adhered, The texts on dancing prescribe that even if the *Varada Hasta* is depicted

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by the right hand, the *Abhaya Hasta* must be assumed by the right hand alone. The left hand could however be used along with the right hand while presenting this gesture.

Regarding the early use of these two *Hastas*, it is difficult to say whether the *Nāṭyaśāstras* were inspired by the *Śilpaśāstras* or vice-versa. The available texts on the arts of sculpture and iconography certainly date to a period which is later than that of the earliest available extant treatise on dance viz. the *Nāṭyaśāstra* which has been ascribed to Bharata, and which in its present recension has been dated to not later than the third century A.D.[5] The *Tantras* and the *Āgamas* which prescribe the rules for image-making are certainly of a later date, probably between the ninth and the twelfth centuries A.D.[6] Of these texts the *Kāmikāgama* and the *Uttara Kāraṇāgama* are perhaps the oldest of the *Śaivāgamas* while the *Vaikhānasāgama* and the *Pañcarātrāgama* are amongst the most widely known Vaishṇava Āgamas. An earlier text which furnishes details on image-making in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (*c.* sixth century A.D.) and the rules prescribed here are more or less in keeping with the tenets of the later Āgama texts.[7] It is thus evident that although the actual codification took place at a later period the practice of making images according to prescribed rules appears to have existed from a very early period. According to Patañjali image worship is known to have existed right from the time of Yāska,[8] and the main purpose of making icons was for the purpose of veneration during worship.[9] Varāhamihira refers to the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Hasta* in his descriptions of Viṣṇu and Śiva images, and Utpāla while commenting on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, gives a similar explanation to the two terms viz., the hand with the palm facing outwards and the fingers pointing upwards for the *Abhaya Hasta* and the Hand with the palm facing outwards and the fingers pointing downwards for the *Varada Hasta*.[10] Varāhamihira however uses the word '*Śāntida*' to mean the *Abhaya Hasta*.[11]

Taking cue from the description of the *Adhaya* and the *Varada Hasta* from the texts on iconography, there are three *Asaṁyuta Hasta* (Single Hand Gestures) prescribed by the various texts on dance which could be utilised to depict them. They are the *Patākā Hasta*, the *Sarpaśīrsha Hasta* and the *Ardhachandra Hasta*. The *Patākā Hasta* has been described thus : the thumb is bent to touch the base of the foreigner and the rest of the fingers are kept close together and extended straight;

. . . Prasāritāgrāḥ sahitā yasyāṅgulyo bhavantiha kuñcitaścha tathāṅgushṭhaḥ sa patākā iti smṛitaḥ . . .

(*Nāṭyaśāstra* IX 18).

...Tarjanīmūla saṁlagnā kuñcit-āṅgushṭhako bhavet patākaḥ saṁhatākāraḥ prasārita talāṅguliḥ...

(*Saṅgīta Ratnākara* VII. 102).

...Aṅgulyaḥ kuñcit-āṅgushṭhaḥ śaṁślishṭāḥ prasṭā yadi
sa patāka karaḥ prokto nṛitya karma viśāradaiḥ...

(*Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, 93).

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...Saṁhatā ṛjvo-aṅgulyas-tarjanīmūla samsthitiḥ aṅgushṭho yasya na (cha) grāhyaḥ sa patākaḥ karo mataḥ . . .

(*Mānasōllāsa* 4: 18. 1158).

Other treatises on dance like the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Vishṇu Dharmōttara Purāṇa*, the *Saṅgīta-Upanishad-Sāroddhāra* and the *Saṅgīta-Samaya-Sāra* give more or less similar definitions of the *Patākā Asaṁyuta Hasta*.[12] What is interesting is that amongst the several usages (*viniyogas*) of the *Patāka Hasta* that have been listed in some of the texts, the action of blessing, protection, benediction etc. has also been included.[13]

The *Sarpaśīrsha Asaṁyuta Hasta* has been described thus: all the fingers including the thumb are kept close to one another and the palm is hollowed;

. . .Aṅgulyaḥ saṁhatāḥ sarva sahāṅgushṭhāna yasya cha tathā nimatalaśchaiva sa tu sarpaśīraḥ karaḥ . . .

(*Nāṭyaśāstra* IX. 84).

The *Abhinaya Darpaṇa* describes this *Hasta* thus: the tips of the fingers of the Patāka Hasta are bent;

. . .patāka namitāgrā chet sarpaśīrsha karo bhavet . . .

(*Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, 137).

The *Mānasōllāsa* and the *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* state that this *Hasta* results if the palm of the *Patāka Hasta* is bent.[14]

The *Ardhachandra Asaṁyuta Hasta* has been described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* thus: the fingers and the thumb are bent so as to resemble the form of the crescent moon;

. . . yasyāṅgulyastu vinatāḥ sahāṅgushthena chāpavat sa ardhachandrō vijñeyaḥ karaḥ karmāsya vakshyate . . .

(*Nāṭyaśāstra* IX. 42)

The *Abhinaya Darpaṇa* specifies that this *Hasta* would result if the thumb of the Patāka hand is stretched;

. . .Ardhachandra karaḥ sa-ayam patāke angushṭhasāraṇāt . . .

(*Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, 111).

The *Mānasollāsa* states that this *Hasta* is formed if the thumb of the hand which is in the *Sarpaśīrsha Hasta* is stretched out.[15]

Any of the above three *Hastas* are used to depict the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Mudrās* in dance and in iconography. The only criteria to be observed is that the fingers must necessarily be held facing upwards while depicting the *Abhaya Hasta* and they must be held facing downwards while depicting the *Varada Mudrā*.

The various treatises on iconography like the *Śilparatna* or the *Śrītatvanidhi* specify the instances wherein these *Hastas* are to be used while depicting the various divinities. Thus *Gaṇapati* in his form of '*Heramba Gaṇapati*' is to be depicted with

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two of his hands in the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Mudrās* respectively.[16] The female Power (*Śakti*) of *Gaṇapati* who is called *Vaināyakī*, is also sometimes depicted in sculptures with her hands in the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Hastas*.[17] Vishṇu, the Preserver and Protector and the Second of Hindu Religious Trinity is universally known to afford protection to his devotees. His images therefore often depict the *Abhaya Hasta*. The *Yogasthānakamūrti* of Vishṇu could be sculpted with one right hand in the *Abhaya* or the *Varada Hasta* according to the canons of iconography.[18] There are innumerable examples in Indian Art of Vishṇu in his ten Incarnations (*Daśāvatāra*), the most popular among them being the images of Vishṇu as *Varāhamūrti* and *Vishṇu-Trivikrama*. Both these images are usually depicted with one right hand in the *Abhaya Hasta*. In the incarnation of Krishṇa, there are several examples (both in sculpture and iconography) of the *Krishṇa-Kāliyamardana* images wherein the right hand is normally depicted in the *Abhaya Hasta*. By the time of the Purāṇas, Buddha too was embraced within the Hindu religious system as one of the Incarnations of Vishṇu and there are representations of the *Dhyānī Buddha* in Indian Art with the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Mudrās*.

The iconographic representation of Chandra (Moon)—one of the nine planets (*Navagraha*), as prescribed in the *Matsya Purāṇa* or the *Śilparatna* has one left hand in the *Varada Hasta*.[19] However some of the texts on dance prescribe that *Chandra* should be depicted with the right hand in the *Patāka Hasta* (symbolising the *Abhaya* or the *Varada Hasta*).[20] Similarly, Kētu (one of the nine planets), in the texts of iconography and dance is described as having one hand in the *Abhaya* thus *Patāka Hasta*.[21]

Images of Śakti which depict the Dēvi in various attitudes are prolific in Indian Art. The *Uttara Kāmikāgama* prescribes that these images could be four-armed or six-armed, and two of these arms are to be necessarily in the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Hastas*. Thus Śakti in her varied forms of Durgā, Gaurī, Cāmuṇḍā, Nandā, Ambikā or Tripurasundarī is represented iconographically with these two *Hastas*. Incidentally some of the texts on dance also prescribe the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Hasta* for Dēvi Pārvatī. In this case however it is not the *Patāka Asaṁyuta Hasta* which is assumed but the *Ardhachandra Asaṁyuta Hasta* which is adopted to depict these attitudes;

...Ūrdhvādhaḥ prasutāvardhachandrākhyo vāma dakshiṇau
abhayo varadaśchaiva pārvatyāḥ kara īritaḥ...

(*Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, 207-208).

Of the other female divinities, some of the Sapta Mātṛikas (Mahēśvari, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Vaishnavi) are often iconographically depicted is the attitudes of 'boon-giving' and 'fear-dispelling'.

A very prominent and impressive sculptural motif is that of Śiva, the Destructor and the Third of the Hindu Trinity and Indian Art presents scores of examples of this deity in different attitudes—as a *Nṛttamūrti* as a *Saṁhāramūrti*, or as an *Anugrahamūrti*. With the development of cults and the growth of sectarianism in Hindu religious philosophy, there evolved in the later centuries a division of faith with some

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embracing the Vaishṇava Faith (wherein Vishṇu is worshipped as the Supreme One), and others embracing Śaiva tenets (which uphold Śiva as the Supreme Lord). The *Śaivāgamas* therefore, extoll the greatness of this Diety (who is normally regarded as the Destroyer) and attribute to him the functions of a Protector and a Preserver besides that of the Creator too. The manifestation of this concept in Art can be seen in the images of Śiva-Trimūrti wherein the three heads symbolise the three Universal and Cosmic Activities of Creation, Preservation and Destruction—all three attributed to this One God. Images of Śiva in this attitude do present the *Abhaya* or the *Varada Hasta*, indicating his function as the Preserver and the Protector. Different, texts on Saiva iconography like the *Kāraṇāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, the *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama*, the *Śrītatvanidhi* and the *Sivatatva Ratnākara* prescribe that the images of Śiva as *Chandramaulīśvara*, *Sarabēśamūrti*, *Aghoramūrti*, *Chaṇḍēśanugrahaṃūrti*, *Dakṣhiṇāmūrti*, *Cakradānamūrti* and *Sadāśivamūrti* could be depicted with the *Abhaya* or the *Varada Hasta*. Although Śiva has been considered as the Lord of Dance or the King amongst the Dancers (*Naṭarāja*) the texts on dance do not prescribe the depiction of Śiva-Naṭarāja with the *Abhaya* and the *Varada Hasta*. Lord Śiva's liaison with the art of dancing is only too well for he is believed to be the Creator of the *Karaṇas* and the *Aṅgahāras* which are indeed the basic movements for all dance.[12] Śiva is regarded as the originator of dance (*Nṛtta*) and to have performed the 108 *Karaṇas* and the 32 *Aṅgahāras* which have been described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Some of the *Nṛtta-Mūrti* images are authentic depiction of these 108 *Karaṇas* as can be seen in the temples at Tanjore and Chidambaram. However, most often, the *Naṭarāja* images with their multiplicity of arms could be analysed in terms of dance although they may not be total representations of a particular movement or pose as prescribed in the texts. The most popular *Naṭarāja* image which has been immortalised by the Cōḷa sculptor has one right hand in the *Abhaya Hasta* and this gesture is symbolic of the act of Protection (Anugraha) which is afforded by the Lord to his devotees. This school of thought visualises the Lord's dance as the Dance of Creation wherein the Lord protects and blesses those who seek refuse in him. Even today, this posture (that is seen in sculpture) has been adopted by the contemporary Classical Dance Forms while depicting Śiva-Naṭarāja.

Amongst other minor sculptural motifs the *Aṣṭah*-Dikpālas (Guardians of the Eight Quarters), who are usually depicted in Indian Art as ceiling images flanking a major image, are sometimes depicted in the 'fear-dispelling' and the 'Boon-giving' attitudes. In dance however they are depicted by the use of other hand gestures.

Almost all artistic creation in India has been prompted by religion and this is true of the arts of Sculpture and Dancing. The themes conveyed usually deal with some religious or philosophical ideas. Hindu philosophy has conceived these divinities as being largely benevolent and generous and hence the two attitudes of *Abhaya* and *Varada*. This note has endeavoured to seek relative affiliations on this 'Fear-dispelling' and 'Boon-giving' attitudes of the Gods which are frequently depicted both in the Art of inconography as also in the terpsichorean Art of Dancing.

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14. *Mānasollāsa*, 4: 18. 1166; *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*, VIII. 152.
15. *Mānasollasa*, 4: 18. 1169.
16. Gopinath Rao, T.A., *op. cit.*, p. 57.
17. Sharma, B.N., '*Iconography of Vainayakī*', pp. 38-39.
18. Gopinatha Rao, T.A., *op. cit.*, p. 80.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 319.
20. *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, 251.
21. Gopinatha Rao, T.A., *op. cit.*, p. 320; *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, 258.
22. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV. 13-14.

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JINA TEMPLE IN THE HARIVAMŚA PURĀNA

L.K. TRIPATHI*

The Jina Temple is variously termed in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*. It is referred to as Arhat-sadana (or *Arhadāyatana*), *Chaitya-gṛiha*; *Chaityālaya*, *Jina-gṛiha* (*Jina-gṛihāvali*), *Jina-geha*, *Jina-veśma*, *Jināgāra*, *Jināyatana*, *Jinālaya*, *Jinendra-bhavana*, *Jaina-gṛiha*, *Jainālaya*, *Pratimā-gṛiha*, *Sidhāyatana*, etc. At one place it is mentioned that the king Śreṇika (i.e. Bhimbisāra), king of Rājagṛiha, and a contemporary of the twenty-fourth *Tīrthaṅkara* Mahāvīra, was so much impressed by the religious sermons of the *Tīrthaṅkara* that he covered the city of Rājagṛiha, both inside and outside, with the Jina temples. And those devoted to the king, his feudatories, Prime Minister, priest, and others from among the people filled the whole of the Magadha country with Jina temples. There were seen multitudes of Jina temples, everywhere—in the cities, in the villages, in the *ghoshas*, on the hill-tops, on the river-banks and on the outskirts of the forests. This reference in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* indicates the existence of Jina temples almost everywhere by the time the Jina work was composed which is significant. According to the *Purāṇa* there were four Jina temples on the Ruchaka hill in the four directions, all facing the east. Similarly there is mention of one Jina temple on the eastern side of the *Sidhâyatanakūṭa*; of four Jina temples in the four directions on each of the hills known as *Kulāchala*, *Vakshāra* and *Kuṇḍagiri*, on all the *Vijayārdha* mountains and on the top portion of the *Mānushottara* mountain; and of single Jina temples on the tops of the mountains called *Añjanagiri* and *Dīrghamukha*.

The existence of Jina temples is also mentioned on the four directions of the forests known as *Paṇḍuka*, *Saumanasa*, *Nandana* and *Bhadraśāla*. In Śrāvastī a temple of *Kāmadeva* was built in the outer grove of the city. In one context a Jina temple standing on the top of a hill of a sea island is mentioned.

These references suggest the prevalence of the tradition of building Jina temples in habitation like cities and villages of various denominations, and on the banks of

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tanks, on hill-tops, and on the outskirts of peaceful forests.[1] One reference suggests that Jina temples were also built in private dwelling houses.[2]

The Jina temples were built facing the east.[3] The temples built on the tops of the hills in the four cardinal directions are all mentioned as facing the east which shows that the orientation making the temple face the east was regarded as the best. According to the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* the entrance of a house could be placed in any of the four directions, the east, the south, the west and the north, though the effects of placing the entrance door at different places in each of the four sides are also stated.[4] Also in regard to the temples the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* approves the central door in all the four directions.[5] In this context, the *Tantrasamuchchaya* while showing preference for the west at one place and for the east at another prescribes their construction in all the four directions.[6] The *Prāsādamaṇḍana* subsisting on the *Aparājitapṛichchhā*, summarises the final position of the north Indian traditions in this regard thus : If the temple has only one door it should be in the east, if there are two doors they should be placed in the east and west, and if there are to be three doors the placing of the central, i.e., the main door in the south should be avoided.[7] Most of the surviving ancient temples are found facing the east. Only some of them, perhaps as exceptions in varied contexts, face a direction other than the east. This most popular tradition of building the temple with its face towards the east is represented in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*.

The measurements of the above mentioned Jina temples, i.e., their length, breadth, etc., are given in *yojanas* and *kośas* which are obviously imaginary. But it is significant to note that these unrealistic measurements invariably evince a definite ratio between the length, breadth and height which may be regarded as the most favourite and well established tradition of the period. The *Siddhakūṭa* Jina temple built on the *Siddhāyatana kūṭa* is described as one *krośa* in length, half *krośa* in breadth and three-fourth *krośa* in height.[8] The Jina temples built on the four main directions of the *Pāṇḍuka* forest are said to be twenty-five *yojanas* in length, twelve and a half *yojanas* in breadth and quarter to nineteen *yojanas* in height.[9] The length, breadth, etc., of the Jina temples built in the four directions of the *Saumanasa* forest were double of those of the Jina temples of the *Pāṇḍuka* forest.[10] The Jina temples standing on the *Kulāclala* and *Vakslāra* hills were similar to the temples of the *Saumanasa* forest which regard to their length, breadth, etc.[11] The dimensions of the Jina temples built at the ends of the *Nandana* and *Bhadraśāla* forests were double the size of the temples of the *Saumanasa* forest.[12] The Jina temples erected on the foreheads of the hills known as *Añjana* giri and *Dīrghāyuratha* were one hundred *yojanas* in length, fifty *yojanas* in breadth and seventy-five *yojanas* in height.[13] The Jina temples built on the four sides of the *Kuṇḍana-giri* and *Ruchaka-giri* hills were of the same dimensions.[14] The lengths, breadths and heights of these different temples show a definite ratio between them which is 4 : 2 : 3, i.e., 1 : 1/2 : 3/4. This seems to be the most refined and acceptable ratio between the length, breadth and height of a temple of which not even a single exception is noticed in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*.

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In the architectural texts, the height of a temple is given in relation to its breadth, and the ratio between the breadth and the height is different in different texts. In the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* the prescribed height is double the breadth.[15] *Tantrasamuchchaya* gives the same ratio between the breadth and the height in regard to the miniature temples,[16] but with regard to the latter temples four different ratios between the breadth and the height are given. According to this prescription, the height may be of four varieties : 1-3/7, 1-1/2, 1-3/4 or 2 times the breadth of a temple.[17] The same variety of the ratio is seen in certain other architectural contexts. Mallayya has quoted from the *Śaivāgamanibandhana, Prayoga-mañjarī, Mayamata, Gurudevapaddhati* and *Mānasāra.* This variety of the ratio seems to be given with reference to the variety of sizes of the temples. Keeping the size in view, the *Mānasāra* and the *Gurudevapaddhati* classify temples into three classes. The *Mānasāra* names them *Kanishṭha, Madhyama* and *Utkṛishṭa* while the *Gurudeva-paddhati* names them *Alpa* or *Kanishṭha, Madhya* and *Uttama.* Obviously the different approved rations between the length and the height of the temple are in relation to these classes. In the *Gurudeva-paddhati* the respective heights of the *Kanishṭha, Madhya* and *Uttama prāsādas* are said to be 1-6/7, 1-5/7 and 1-3/7 times its breadth.[18] According to the *Mānasāra* the height of the *Kanishṭha* temple (*harmya*) is twice its breadth (?), of the *Madhyama* 1-1/4, 1-3/4 times the breadth, and of the *Utkṛishṭa* 1-3/7, 1-1/2 times the breadth.[19] But in the *Mānasāra* itself five different measures of the height, as 1, 1-1/4, 1-1/2, 1-3/4 and 2 times the breadth, are given.[20] The *Mayamata* gives the height as 1-3/7, 1-1/2, 1-3/5 and 1-3/4 times the breadth, though the height 1-1/4 and 2 times the breadth are also prescribed.[21] In view of this, the ratio between the breadth and the height (1 : 1-1/2) as given in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* seems to be in regard to the temples of the *Uttama* class which is also clear from other details in the references. There is a difference of only 1/14 between 1-1/2 and 1-3/7. Therefore, either ignoring this negligible difference for easy expansion or on account of its popularity the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* gives the ratio of 1 : 1-1/2.

The references in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* also provide some idea of the architectural complex of the Jina temple. Regarding the temples of the *Pāṇḍuka* forests and others it is mentioned that they were built in the centre of a courtyard surrounded by enclosure walls (*prākārakoṭa*).[22] The enclosure walls (*prākāra*) were provided with *toraṇa* gateways and *gopuras*, the number of the *toraṇas* being four. The Jina temple is said to comprise the *garbhagṛiha*, and, in front of the shrine, the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the *prekshāgṛiha*,[23] and further beyond, the *stūpa* and the *chaitya*-tree embellished with images, and still beyond the tank. In the architectural complex of the temple of *Vasupūjya*, built on the bank of a tank, the *mānastambha* is also included.[24] The circumstantial evidence indicates the existence of *pradakshiṇā-patha.*[25] The railing (*vedikā*) was also appropriately used. In another context, four *gopura* gateways in the four directions of the temple and *vāpikās* embellished with the railing, and beyond them the *Jayāṅgaṇa* are mentioned as parts of the architectural complex of the Jina temple.[26] For entrance, the temple was provided with the main entrance-door on the front; some times it had three doors with the provision of the two additional ones on

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the sides.[27] The Jina temples were also decorated. They were further embellished with flags hoisted over them. About the temples of the *Pāṇḍuka* forests etc. it is said that they were provided, in the ten directions, with ten kinds of five-coloured big banners.[28] They were ornamented with fret-work (*jālīs*) and windows (*gavākshas*), for providing light and air.[29] In addition to these, they had decoration of pearl-festoons, lotus flowers made of coral and jewels, and small bells.[30] Of the decorative motifs used in the ornamentation of these temples the text mentions the lion, the goose (*haṁsa*), the elephant, the lotus, the cloth, the bull, the peacock, the *chakra*, the garland (*mālā*), and Garuḍa.[31] The golden paste is also mentioned, the medallions painted with which are said to have appeared like the sun descended on the earth.[32] These temples were further enriched with various kinds of paintings. The paintings, probably, depicted the mansions, the *maṇḍapas* and the other pleasure houses of the gods (Devas), the demons (Asuras) and the men, various riches described in the *Purāṇas*, and the Puranic and other stories.[33] The doors were provided with planks having chains.[34] In one context a door having thirty-two chains is mentioned. From the religious view-point and for providing entertainment to the visitors, some other images were also placed in the Jina temple.[35]

The measurements of some of the parts of the temples are also found. In connection with the Jina temple of the Pāṇḍuka forest and others the *garbhagṛiha* known as *Devachchhanda* is mentioned which was eight *yojanas* in length, two *yojanas* in breadth, and four *yojanas* in height; it is also said to have been one *krōśa* in depth.[36] This ratio of 4 : 1 : 2, i.e. 1 : 1/4 : 1/2 between the length, breadth and height of the *garbhagṛiha* as well as its depth presents difficulty in understanding the construction of the *garbhagṛiha*. At one place five hundred *dhanusha* high images of the Jinendras, made of gold and jewels and installed in the *chaityas*, are mentioned.[37] For proper installation of the collossal tall standing images of the Jinas, lowering of the level of the *garbhagṛiha* in comparison to the level of the remaining temple seems reasonable. Among the surviving temples, there are a few examples where the level of the *garbhagṛiha* is thus lowered, e.g., in the Chaturbhuja temple at Khajuraho. Here, in the context of the size of the door-way and the eye-level of the spectator standing in the *maṇḍapa* suitable installation of the standing tall image of the deity necessitated to make the level of the *garbhagṛiha* lower than the level of the *maṇḍapa* on the front. But the above mentioned ratio between the length, the breadth, and the height of the *garbhagṛiha* remains inexplicable, though the ratio of 1 : 2 between the breadth and the height is well known.[38]

In more than one places, the measurements of the doors are also stated. Regarding the Jina temples of the *Pāṇḍuka* forests and others, it is said that each temple was provided with a large main and two additional smaller side entrances, the latter ones being half the size of the main door.[39] The main doorway is described as four *yojanas* in height and two *yojanas* in breadth. The doors of the Jina temples on the *Mānushottara* mountain are eight *yojanas* in height and four *yojanas* in breadth.[40] Similarly the doorways of the Jina temples on the hills known as *Añjanagiri* and

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Dīrghāyuratha are also eight *yojanas* high and four *yojanas* broad. From these descriptions the ratio of 2 : 1 between the height and breadth of the doorway appears to be the most popular one. In the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* the height of the door is mentioned as twice its breadth.[41] The *Gurudevapaddhati*, *Mayamata* and *Mānasāra* also describe the height of the door as twice its breadth.[42] In the *Tantrasamuchchaya* the breadth of the door is mentioned as half of the height or slightly less than half (e.g., 1/21, 9/19, 8/17, 7/15, 5/11).[43] The *Prāsādamaṇḍana* also gives the breadth of the door as half of its height, though it praises the door broader by 1/16 of the height and calls it *śobhana*.[44] In this way the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* appears to have given the most accepted ratio between the height and breadth of the doorway.

The available reference from the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* show the same ratio between the height and breadth of a *toraṇa* gateway. The *toraṇas* of the Jina temples of the *Pāṇḍuka* forest and others were eight *yojanas* in height and four *yojanas* in breadth.[45] The *toraṇas* of the temples of the *kūṭas* of *Dhātakikhaṇḍa* were half *yojana* in height and five hundred *dhanusha* in breadth.[46] In the description of the temples of the *Pāṇḍuka* forest etc., where the height of the *toraṇa* gateway is given as eight *yojanas*, the height of the gopura is mentioned as fifty *yojanas*,[47] but its breadth is not given.

In the Jina temples of the *Pāṇḍuka* forest etc., each temple had one enclosure wall (*prakārakoṭa*) which was four *yojanas* in height and one *krośa* in depth and whose width was six *yojanas* at the bottom, four *yojanas* in the middle and two *yojanas* at the top.[48] Each enclosure wall (*prākāra*) was provided with four *toraṇa* gateways and one *gopura*.

The *chaitya* tree was also a constituent of the temple complex under which images seated in *padmāsana* were placed.[49] There also seems to be a tradition of placing various images other than those of the Jinas in the Jina temple. The merchant Kāmadatta established images or Mṛigadhvaja Kevalī and buffalo in front of the Jina temple. He had also got executed images of *Kāmadeva* and *Rati* in the temple.[50] As the account goes these images of *Kāma* and *Rati* were prepared for the sake of curiosity of the people, and persons from all over the world anxious to see them visited the Jina temple.[51] The *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* also mentions the worship of *Rati* and *Kāma*.[52] This tradition or placing the images of *Kāma* and *Rati* in a Jina temple is both interesting and significant. On the walls of the *Pārśvanātha* temple at Khajuraho the images of *Kāmadeva* and *Rati* are seen along with other divine couples of the Hindu pantheon and female figures. This reference of the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* explains the motive behind the inclusion of the Hindu gods and goddesses as well as the *mithuna* and famale figures in the decorative scheme of the Jina temples, and presents the proper context for their interpretation. On the practical level, for attracting the masses to their temples, the Jainas, like the followers of the other religious sects, were amassing all the possible interesting material in their temples.

In one context the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* mentions that on one mountain there were hundreds of Jina temples built by Rāmachandra : their images were adored even by

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the *Pāṇḍavas* and for worshipping those images poius people from different countries visited the temples.[53] At another place it is stated that a particular Jina image was presented by *Kubera*[54] which reminds one of a statement in the Khajuraho inscription dated A.D. 954 wherein a similar description of the *Vaikuṇṭha* image installed in the local Lakshmaṇa temple is given. In the Jaina temples, in addition to worshipping the Jina, people were also seen observing fasts and delivering religious lectures.[55] The *Purāṇa* mentions a Muni performing *Ātapa-tapa* in a Jina temple.[56] The temples were lighted in the night with lamps (*dīpa*).[57] They had also provisions for pilgrims' stay in the night.[58] To mark special occasions, special functions and celebrations were also organised in these temples.[59] The various descriptions in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, clearly suggest excellent management, cleanliness, and opulence of the Jina temples, for which such adjectives as *ujjavala*, *sarvaratnamaya*, *divya*, etc. have been used. At one place the temples of *Kṛishṇa* are also mentioned, in addition to the temple of *Kāma*.[60]

Notes and References

The paper is based on the material supplied by Shri Ram Murti Choudhary.

1. 5.677; 5.728.
2. 5.31, 355, 677.
3. 5.728-29.
4. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, 53. 72-5.
5. *chatuḥshashṭi padaṁ kāryaṁ devatāyatanaṁ sadā |*
   dvāraṁ cha madhyamaṁ tasmin samadikstham praśasyate ||
   Bṛihatsaṁhitā, 56.10
6. Mallayya, N.V., *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture*, 1949, pp. 40, 41 :
   pratyak prāg-vadanakrameṇa vihiteshv-alpeshu vānyeshu vā
   and which will (consequently) have different *yonis* and facing towards the West and East and pp. 50, 51 :
   madhyān madhyamatītya dikshu rachayed dvārāṇi tūrdhvaṁ prateḥ
   then construct doors (*Dvāras*) on all the (four) sides above *Prati*.
7. *Ekadvāraṁ bhavet pūrvaṁ dvidvāraṁ pūrva paśchime |*
   Tridvāraṁ madhyajaṁ dvāraṁ dakshiṇāsyam vivarjayet ||
   Prāsāda-maṇḍana 5.9
8. 5.30-31.
9. 5.354-60-
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. 5.676-680.
14. 5.728-29.
15. *Yo vistāro bhavedyasya dviguṇā tatsamunnatiḥ |*
    Bṛihatsaṁhitā 56. 11.
16. Mallayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 63, 278.
    alpe dhāmani vistritidviguṇita prāyochchhraye ... |
    Tantrasamuchchaya, 2.52

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17. *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 43, 149-53 :
Dhāmno vyāse śakvarīdvandvabhakte mitrendredhmāṁśaiḥ samastāṁśataścha |
Vistvityā saṁyuktayā pādukādi-stūpyagrānto-bhyuchchrayaḥ syāch-chaturdhā ||
Tantrasamuchchaya, 2.7

18. *Athavālpakanishṭhānāṁ vyāse saptavibhāgake |*
Shaḍaṅgādhikamuchcham syānmadhyānāṁ pañcha chadhikam |
Tryaṁśādhikaṁ chottamānāṁ prāsādānāmihonnatiḥ ||
Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdha, 30.22

19. Mallayya, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
20. *Ibid., op. cit.*, p. 152.
Tadvistārasamāttuṅgaṁ sapādardham tu tuṅgakam |
Tripādadhikamutsedhaṁ vistāra dviguṇodayam ||

21. *Kechidvadhanti devānām mānushāṇām vimānake |*
Vistare sapta slaṭ pañca chatustryaṁśe' dhikaṁ tribhiḥ ||
Śāntikaṁ paushṭikam jayadamadbhutaṁ sārvakāmikam |
Uchchhrāyam dviguṇaṁ pādārdhādhikaṁ chāpi sammatam ||

22. 5.354-60; 5.366-72.
23. *Prekshāgṛiha* seems to correspond to *Naṭamandira* of the Orissan temples.
24. 19.115.
25. *Ibid.*
26. 57.71-72, 75-80.
27. 5.354-60.
28. 5.354, 360, 366-72.
29. *Loc. cit.*
30. *Loc. cit.*
31. *Loc. cit.*
32. 57.71-72, 75-80.
33. *Loc. cit.*
34. 29.1-10.
35. *Loc. cit.*
36. 5.354-60.
37. 5.676-80.
38. 5.354-60.
39. 5.598.
40. 5.676-80.
41. *Garbhapādena vistīrṇaṁ dvāraṁ dviguṇamuchchhṛitam ||*
Bṛihatsaṁhitā 56.12.
42. Mallayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51, 232-35.
44. *Dairghyārdhena pṛithutvaṁ syāch-chhobhanaṁ tatkalādhikam ||*
Bṛihatsaṁhitā, 3.46
Pṛithutvaṁ cha tadardhena śubhaṁ syāttu kalādhikam ||
Ibid., 3.50
45. 5.366-72.
46. 5.508-12.
47. 5.354-60, 366-72.
48. *Ibid.*
49. 5.366-72.
50. 29.1-10.

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51. *Loc. cit.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. 46.19-20.
54. 34.11.
55. *Loc. cit.* The Osian inscription dated Śaka 1013 in V. 12 gives a similar description of the Jaina temple, Nahar, P.C., *Jaina Inscriptions*, pt. I, p. 193.
56. 21.111-14.
57. 19.115.
58. *Loc. cit.*
59. 5.676-80.
60. 65.53-56.

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AN INTERESTING VAIKUNTHA-MŪRTI FROM PEHOA

DEVENDRA HANDA*

Vaikuṇṭha is one of the thousand names of Viṣhṇu according to the *Mahābhārata*[1] and the *Purāṇas*.[2] In the realm of plastic art, Vaikuṇṭha connotes an image which symbolically represents Vaikuṇṭha (i.e. *Vāsudeva Vishṇu*) as the Highest Being along with his three emanations[3] or incarnations[4]. The *Mahābhārata* refers to Vaikuṇṭha form as *Mūrtichatushṭaya*[5] but does not give any details. The first iconographical description of the Vaikuṇṭha image occurs in a *dhyāna* of the *Pāñcharātra* text *Jayākhya Saṁhitā* of the Gupta period which says that "The Endless, the Deathless, the Great Omnipresent God, the Creator of the universe, is to be meditated upon as having four faces of Vaikuṇṭha, Nṛisiṁha, Varāha and Kapila and four arms holding a conch, a discus, a mace and a lotus, with beautiful eyes and resplendence, bedecked with all ornaments, auspicious marks, wreath and garments, bearing *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and *Kaustubha-maṇi* and the glory of thousands of suns, his figure being besmeared with *Karpūra* (camphor) and mounted on a white Garuḍa"[6].

Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa, another text of the Gupta period states that the joint image of Vāsudeva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha is called *Vaikuṇṭha* which should be quadrucephalous (*Chaturmukha, Chaturmūrti*), having the main eastern face as placid, southern representing knowledge as leonine and western representing affluence (*aiśvarya*) as terrible (*raudra*).[7] Elsewhere, this very text lays down that it should have placid, Nṛisiṁha, Kapila and Varāha faces on the east, south, west and north sides respectively[8]. The octomanous deity should hold an arrow, a rosary, a pestle etc. in the right hands and a shield, a plough, a bow and a discus in the left ones[9]. Also the god should ride the mount Garuḍa (*Garuḍasthitam*). Later texts like the *Aparājitapṛchcha*[10], *Rūpamaṇḍana*[11] and *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*[12] also describe Vaikuṇṭha-mūrti similarly as four faced, eight handed and riding the mount Garuḍa. The attributes, according to these texts, should be a mace, a sword,

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a discus and an arrow in the right hands[13] and a conch, a scutum, a bow and a lotus in the left ones.

Though quadrucephalous sculptures in the round are known to us from the hills of Kashmir[14] and Himachal Pradesh[15], yet the tricephalous examples representing the deity as having the central placid human face, lion-face on the proper left and boar-face on the right (with unrepresented fourth face of Kapila at the back) far outnumber the former and have been popular down the ages. Vaikuṇṭha-mūrtis are known in both standing and seated postures, sometimes accompanying Lakṣmī also[16]. It was perhaps under the tantric influence that an image of the consort of Vaikuṇṭha was created at Bijolia in Rajasthan[17]. Efforts seem to have also been made to further synthesize the already syncretistic Vaikuṇṭha-*Chaturmūrtis* with *Śeshāśāyī* and *Trivikrama* forms of Vishṇu[18].

Vaikuṇṭha worship was very popular in the hill-region of Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh during the early medieval period. Vaikuṇṭha-mūrtis are known from Punjab[19], Haryana[20], Uttar Pradesh[21], Madhya Pradesh[22], Rajasthan[23] and Gujarat[24] also. Their number, when considered against the number of Vishṇu images in general, is, however, very small and any new discovery is looked forward. It is from this view point that an image of Vaikuṇṭha from Pehoa in Haryana is published here.

Pehoa, located about 25 Km. west of Kurukshetra on the bank of the sacred Sarasvatī, is a celebrated pilgrimage centre identified with ancient *Pṛithūdaka*[25] which finds mention in the *Mahābhārata*[26] and the *Purāṇas*[27]. The discovery of Painted Grey Ware[28] from the site takes back its antiquity to the first half of the first millennium B.C. The literary references together with two Gupta terracotta plaques[29] found from here indicate its continued habitation and the two Pratihāra inscriptions[30] from the place provide evidence regarding Pehoa being an important town and trade-centre in the medieval period. Rajaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (A.D. 880-920) refers to it as an outpost of *Uttrāpatha*[31].

Some sculptures from the site including fragments of colossal Vishṇu image, *Mahishamardinī*, boar-faced *Siṁhavāhinī*, Vishṇu, Revanta, door-frames, pillars etc. have already been published.[32] Some time back, an interesting and magnificent image of Vaikuṇṭha was acquired from Arunaya, the site of the confluence of the rivers Sarasvati and Aruṇā,[33] now a suburb of Pehoa, by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana and is displayed in its Museum at Chandigarh[34].

The buff-coloured sandstone sculpture (Fig. 1) measuring 52×29 cm. shows the tricephalous octomanous deity standing gracefully in *abhaṅga* wearing a *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, ear ornaments, *graiveyaka* sacred thread, armlets, beaded *Kaṅkaṇas*, *nūpurās* and an *ardhoruk* tied firmly with a waist-band having *uru* and *muktā-dāmas* dangling down on the thighs and knees. The *ardhoruk* is represented only by minutely carved folds above the knees. A beautiful *vanamālā* adorned with blossomed lotus flowers

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at intervals hangs down from behind the back of the god very gracefully. On the proper right of the placid human face which bears a beautitudinous expression, is the lion face and on other side the boar face. The fourth face at the back can only be presumed. The front right hand is held in *abhaya* and the others hold a discus, a sword and an arrow respectively. The proper left hand holds a conch, the second hand is placed on the thicker end of the mace, the third holds a scutum and the fourth one is broken but can be presumed to have held a bow. This arrangement of the attributes is unique and is not to be found in any known iconographical text. As such, it seems to have been an innovation made by the artist in Haryana. Near the feet of the deity stand in asymmetrical postures the *āyudha-purushas* accompanied by female fly-whiskers or the Lord's consorts *Śrī* and *Bhūmi* on the receding *rathas* of the pedestal. Above in the corners are shown garland-bearing *vidyādharas*.

The discus held in the second right hand of the god seems to have been placed on the head of the female near the right foot. The sword in the third hand has a semicircular end and is of *maṇḍalāgra* variety[35]. The conch in the proper left hand is held slantingly from the groove with thumb placed towards the spire[36]. The mace is placed vertically on the ground with its thicker end upward held in the second left hand of the deity[37]. The left foot of the god is held sideways. The absence of *Kaustubha-maṇi* the *Śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest, the gloriole at the back and the mount Garuḍa is noteworthy[38].

All the incidental figures have been carved with minute care. They all wear *ekāvalis*, ear-rings, *kaṅkaṇas* and other ornaments. *Śaṅkha-purusha* on the proper right is shown with a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* bedecked with pearl-strings and jewels but *Chakra-puruṣha* on the other side interestingly bears a *dhammilla* type of hair coiffure with a pearl-string and jewel in the centre. The females behind the *āyudha-purushas* bear a round bun-type hair coiffure.

Sparing use of jewellery, graceful curves and contours, pleasing composition, detailed care given even to the incidental figures and delicacy of the chisel work bestow a distinctive character to this one of the loveliest reliefs from Haryana. Stylistically, it bears great affinity to the Pratihāra idiom and can be assigned to the first half of the tenth century A.D. Verily this interesting image is one of the masterpieces of the medieval art of Haryana and bespeaks highly of the artistic excellence of the region.[39]

Notes and References

1. *Mahābhārata* (G. Ed.) (*Mbh.*), VI. 775, 15.
2. *Bhagavata Purāṇa* III. 16, 6 and VIII. 5, 4, '*Vishnu Purāṇa* III. 1, 41.
3. The three emanations are : *Samkarṣhana*, *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha*. Interestingly, a Kuṣhāṇa image in the Mathura Museum shows the main figure as having three busts attached to it, one on the top and the two near the shoulders. See for details Joshi, N.P., *Mathurā Kī Murtikalā* (Hindi), Mathura, 1965, p. 66, Fig. 38.

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4. *Nṛisimha, Varāha* and *Kapila.*
5. *Mbh.*, XII, 326, 43.
6. *Anādi-nidhanam devam jagatsraṣhṭāram-īśsvaram |*
Dhyāyechchaturbhujam vipra śaṅkhachakragadādharam ||
Chaturvaktram sunayanam sukāntam padmapāṇinam |
Vaikuṇṭham Narasimhāsyam Vārāham Kapilānanam ||
Śuklam Khageśvarāruḍham sarvābharaṇabhūṣhitam |
Sarvalakṣhaṇasampannam mālyāmbaradharam Vibhum ||
Kirīṭakaustubhadharam Karpūrāliptavigraham |
Sūryāyutasahasrābham sarvadevanamaskṛitam ||
Jayākhya Samhitā VI. 73-76.

7. *Ekamurtidharaḥ kāryā (O) Vaikuṇṭhetyabhiśabditaḥ |*
Chaturmukhaḥ sa kartavyaḥ prāguktavadanaḥ prabhuḥ ||
Chaturmurtiḥ as bhavati kṛite mukhachatushṭaye |
Pūrvam saumyamukham kāryam yattu mukhyatamam vidhuḥ ||
Kartavyam simhavaktrābham jñānavaktram tu dakshiṇam |
Paśchimaṁ vadanam raudram yattadaiśvaryamuchyate
43-45. || *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* LXXX,

8. *Ibid.*, XLIV, 11-12.

Saumyaṁ tu vadanaṁ pūrvaṁ Narasiṁhaṁ tu dakshiṇam |
Kāpilam paśchimaṁ vaktraṁ tathā Vārāhamuttaram ||

9. *Ibid.*, III. 44, 12-13 as suggested by Desai, Kalpana, *Iconography of Vishṇu*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 39 and fn. 21—
Tasye dakṣhiṇahasteṣhu bānākṣhamusalādayaḥ ||
Charmasīraṁ dhanuśchakraṁ vāmeṣhu vanamālinaḥ |

10. *Aparājitaprichchha* 219, vv. 25-27 :
Pravachmyatha Vaikuṇṭhaṁ so-shṭabāhurmahābalaḥ |
Garuḍasthaśchaturvaktraḥ Karttavyaḥ śāntimichchhitā ||
Gadhākhaḍgo vānachakre dakshiṇe-strachatushṭayam |
Śaṅkhaḥ kheṭo dhanuḥ padmaṁ vāme cha-strachatushtayam ||
Pūrataḥ gurushākāro Narasiṁhaścha dakṣhiṇe |
Apare Śrīmukhākāro Vārāhāsyastathottare ||

11. *Rūpamaṇḍana* III. 52-54.

Vaikuṇṭhañcha pravakṣhyāmi so-ṣhṭabāhumahābalaḥ |
Tārkshyāsanaschaturvaktraḥ Karttavyaḥ śāntimichchhitā ||
Gadāṁ Khaḍgam chakraśaraṁ dakshiṇe cha chatushṭayam |
Śaṅkhaṁ Kheṭaṁ dhanuḥ padmaṁ vāme dadyāchchatushtayam ||
Agrataḥ purushākāraṁ Nārasiṁhaṁ cha dakshiṇe |
Aparaṁ strīmkhākāraṁ Vārāhāsyaṁ tathottare ||

12. *Devatamūrti prakārāna* V. vv. 91-93. Epigraphical references to the four faced Vaikuṇṭha form are also available in Yaśovarman's Khajuraho Inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 122-35) and a Paramāra Inscription from Nagpur (*Ibid.*, II, pp, 183 ff.). The former also refers to an interesting story, not met with elsewhere, about the assumption of this form by Vishṇu in order to kill demons who had obtained a boon from Brahmā that they should only be killed by a being of similar form.

Dadhānānekam yaḥ Kiripurushasiṁ [hobhaya] jusham |
Ta [da) Karochchhedyaṁ tanumasuramukhyanajavarat ||
Jaghana trīnugran (ñ) jagati Kapiladiaṇvatu yaḥ |
Sa Vaikuṇṭaḥ Kaṇṭhadhvani chakita niśseshabhuvanaḥ ||

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See also Pathak, V.S., "Vaikuṇṭha at Khajuraho and Kāśmīrāgama School", *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, Bhopal, No. 2, 1960, pp. 9 ff. and "Vaikuṇṭha kā Vikāsa" in *Ṛṣaṭrakavi Maithilīsaraṇa Gupta Abhinanadana Grantha, Calcutta*, 1959, pp. 932 ff. *cf.* Tripath, L.K. "Restoration of the First Verse of the Yaśovarman Stone Inscription, Khajuraho", *Bharati*, Varanasi, No. 4, 1960-61, pp. 115 ff.

13. '*Vānachakre*' of the *Aparājitaprichchha* has been changed to '*Chakrasaraṁ*' in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. Also '*Śrīmukha*' of the former becomes '*Strīmukha*' in the latter.
14. Kak, R.C., *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, London, 1923, pp. 48-51; *5000 years Art From India* (Catalogue of the Exhibition held in Germany in 1959), pl. 188; Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff. Fig. 33; Pathak, *op. cit.*; Sharma, B.N., "Sculptures and Bronzes from Kashmir in the National Museum, New Delhi", *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 29, Nos. 1-4 (Dec. 1979), pp. 133-34, Figs. 4.5. Also see Banerjea, J.N., "Medieval Vishṇu Images from Kashmir and some Vishṇudharamottara Passages", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, IV Session, Lahore, 1940, pp. 61-64; Desai, K., "Vaikuṇṭha Chaturmūrti", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, n.s., Vol. II, 1967-68, pp. 22-23; Agrawal, R.C., "Narasiṁha-Varāha-Vishṇu Images and Some Allied Problems", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 16, 1973, pp. 11-21 and Figs.
15. Goetz, H., *Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden, 1955, p. 66; Gorakshkar, S., "Three Metal Sculptures from Kashmir, "*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, Bombay, XI, 1971, pp. 40-45, Figs. 35-42; Mitra, Debala, "Vishṇu Chaturmūrti Image in Hari Rāi Temple at Chamba", in *Arts of Himachal* (Ed. Ohri, V.C.), Simla, 1975, pp. 1-12, Figs. 1-3.
16. These images are described as Lakshmī-Vaikuṇṭha in the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā* (XXXIII, 54-56). See Vogel, J.Ph., *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 3.
17. Desai, K., "Consort of Vaikuṇṭha", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 13.
18. Vogel, J. Ph., *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, Calcutta, 1911, Part I, p. 219, Pl. XXXI; *Goftz, op. cit.*, Pl. XVI.
19. Sadhu Ram, "Two Unpublished Sculptures : Hari Hara and Narasiṁha, "*Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* Vol. XV, Pt. i, March 1977, pp. 123-24, Pl. II. Actually the piece described as Narasiṁha is the head of a Vaikuṇṭha-mūrti from Kharar. Another, almost complete, Vaikuṇṭha-mūrti is now under worship in Moriwala Mandir (a Śiva temple also known as Dera Baba Dhyan Dass). It is still unpublished as also is another piece from Rahon in district Jullundur.
20. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1322-24, p. 89. Pl. V d; Desai (1973), p. 42, Fig. 34.
21. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Indian Images*, Part I, Calcutta, 1954, p. 8, pl. iv; Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura*, Allahabad, 1911.
22. Awasthi, R., *Khajurāho Kī Deva Pratimāeṁ* (Hindi), Agra, 1967, pp. 133 ff. Figs. 61-63.
23. Agrwal, R.C., "Some Important Medieval Images of Vishṇu from Rajputana, "*The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras, Vol. XVIII, Parts 3-4, pp. 261 ff.
24. Cohsens, Henry, *Somnath and Other Medieval Temples in Kathiawad*, Calcutta, 1931, Pl. XXXV; Desai (1973), pp. 44 ff.
25. Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.; Handa, Devendra, "Pehoa—The Ancient Pṛthūdaka", *Purāṇam*, Vol. IX, Part 2, July, 1967. pp. 197-206.
26. *Mbh.* (Gītā Press Ed.) *Vana Parva*, Ch. 83, vv. 141-44; *Śalya Parva*, Ch. 39, vv. 28-33.
27. *Vāmana Purāṇa* 22-44-45; 24-11; 39, 19; *Padma Purāṇa* I. 27, 36-37, and 83-84; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I. 4, 15; IV. 19, I; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* II. 12, 16; *Vāyu Purāṇa* 45, 95; 55, 43; *Matsya Purāṇa* 7, 5, 121. 64-65 etc.
28. *Ancient India* (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), Nos. 10-11, p. 141.
29. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 101, Pl. XXVII; Shukla, S.P., "Relics of Ancient Art from Pehowa", *Research Bulletin* (*Arts*), Punjab University, Chandigarh, Vol. XV (1980), pp. 69-86. See also

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Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report, 1921-22, p. 47; Agrawal, R.C., "*Early History and* Archaeology of Kurukshetra and Ambala Division", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, Dec. 1955, pp. 213-14 and "*Two Interesting Terracottas from* Kurukshetra", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XX, Nos. 2-3, 1957, pp. 163-64.

30. Buhler, G., "The Pehoa (Garibnath Temple) Inscription (Harsh Year 276)", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, 1888-92, pp. 184-90 and "Pehova Praśasti of the reign of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj", *Ibid.*, pp. 242-250.
31. *Kāvyamīmāmsā* of Rājaśekhara, Ed. Dalal, C.D., Baroda, 1934, p. 298.
32. Rodgers, C.J., *Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in The Punjab, Lahore* 1891, pp. 56-57; Handa, *op. cit.*, Shukla, *op. cit.*
33. *Mbh.* (Gītā Press Ed.) III. 81, 131; IX. 30-43; *Padma Purāṇa* I. 27, 39 and *Vāmana Purāṇa*, XL, 43-45 refer to it as Aruṇā-Saṅgama.
34. Photograph : Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Haryana. The author expresses his grateful thanks to Sh. P.K. Sharan, Deputy Director, Department of Archaeology, Haryana and his colleague Sh. M. Acharya for the photograph of the sculpture and its measurements.
35. Shastri, Ajaya Mitra, *India as seen in the Brihatsamhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1969, p. 475, Fig. 32. The type is also referred to by Kauṭilya in his *Artha Śāstra* (II. 18) and Padmagupta in his *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (I. 74).
36. This seems to have been a popular method and is to be seen in many other sculptures from Haryana.
37. It seems that the artist carved the *Chakra* over the head of a female and *Gadā* behind the head of a male wrongly. The attributes may have interchanged.
38. All the iconographical texts invariably refer to the mount of Vaikuṇṭha.
39. An unpublished doorway found from Pehoa (Shukla, *op. cit.*, Fig. 10) indicates that the temples and sculptures were carved out at Pehoa itself.

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IMAGES OF LALĀṬA BIMBA IN OSIĀN TEMPLES

SHASHI BALA SRIVASTAVA*

The door frames of the sanctum of all the temples of Osiān[1] are wrought with many carvings of the divinities. In addition to these divinities carved on the various parts of the door ways such as door lintel (*dwāra-uttaraṅga*); door jambs (*śākhā*) thresholds (*udimbara* and *Chandraśilā*), the figures of amorous couples (*mithuna mūrti*), human busts of Nāga with snakehood canopies alongwith meandering creepers and foliage are engraved on them. In the centre of the lintel there is *lalāṭa-bimba* over which are mounted two friezes (*rūpa Paṭṭikā*) one above the other. The first one just above the *lalāṭa-bimba* is decorated with divine figures. Further up occurs a row of nine inches containing figures of the *Navagraha*.

The earliest extant specimen of doors of sanctums adorned by engraved deities can be seen in the Ananta-Gumpha cave—Jain Temple of Khandgiri hills situated in Orissa. It is well known that it belongs to the 1st century B.C. Here the Gaja-Lakshmi is embellished in the *same-bhanga* posture on the *lalāṭa-bimba*. So far as Hindu tradition of adorning the *lalāṭa-bimba* is concerned, its beginning can be traced from the Gupta Temple[2] and the practice continued to be followed indispensably right upto the 13th century and onwards. The canonical injunctions relating to the decoration of the sanctum door with divine images, figure of amorous couples, human busts of *Nāga* with snake-hood canopies, meandering creepers and foliage are laid down in such *Śilpa-Śāstrās* as *Jayākhya-Saṁhitā*, *Hayaśirshapañcharātra*, *Merutantra* and *I.S.G.D. Padhati* etc.

The study of divine figures of *lalāṭa-bimba* of Osiān can be facilitated by the division of the temple on the basis of cult association. Let us first look into the Vaishṇava Temples.

Vaishṇava Temples

Temple Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8[3] and the miniature temples situated in the south-

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west, north-west and north-east in the courtyard of Sachiya Mata temple are dedicated to Lord Vishnu. The figure of *Garuḍāsīna* Vishṇu is engraved on the *lalāṭa-bimba* of temple Nos. 1, 2 and 3 and the south-west small temple standing in the compound of Śachiya Mata temple. The canonical injunctions relating to carving the image of the divinity of the sanctum (*Garbhagṛiha*) as a rule on a small scale on the centre of the lintel (*lalāṭa-bimba*) finds place in the North Indian *Śilpaśāstra* called *Prāsāda Maṇḍana* as under :

yasya devasya yā mūrtiḥ s-aiva kāry-ottaraṅgake 3.68.

It is according to this canonical injunction that the image of the divinity of the sanctum must as a rule find place on the *lalāṭa-bimba*. That is why in the above mentioned Vaishṇava Temples the miniature figure of Lord Vishṇu has been carved in the centre of the door lintel of these temples—meaning perhaps thereby that the God to whom the temple stands dedicated must preside over the entrance of the sanctum.

The image on the *lalāṭa-bimba* is a figure of four armed Vishṇu in *lalitāsana* on flying Garuḍa with his two arms supporting the feet of the God. The God holds his lower right hand in *abhaya* posture and carries *gadā*, *chakra* and *śankha* in the remaining three hands. The deity is adorned with *kirīṭa*, *hāra*, *kuṇḍala*, *bhujabanda katibandha valaya*, *pītāmbara* and *uttarīya*. The Garuḍa is also adorned with pearl-beads, bangles, ear-rings, *kamarbanda* and wears *dhotī*. In some cases he has been shown with a beard (*kūrcha*). He is looking towards the feet of his Lord. Unfortunately one or the other hand of such images is invariably mutilated and in case of no single deity in the *lalāṭa-bimba* it is complete. In the temple No. 1 there is a discus in the left upper hand and a conch-shell in the lower one. The lower right hand is in *abhaya* posture, while the upper right hand is mutilated. In temple No. 3 the two left hands are mutilated while the upper right hand carries mace and the lower hand is seen in *abhaya* posture. The images of the *lalāṭa-bimba* of temple No. 2 and that of the small temple at south-west are mutilated badly. It is noteworthy that in showing the emblem of Lord Vishṇu and Garuḍa the rules laid down in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* have exactly been followed. So far as the appearance of the above mentioned images are concerned they have been depicted according to the rules laid down in *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.[4] It states that Lord Vishṇu the God of gods should be shown seated on the Garuḍa with bosom shining with the *Kaustubha maṇi* (Jewel), wearing all ornaments resembling in colour of water laiden cloud. In some texts it is prescribed that Garuḍa should be four handed having a bird like appearance carrying the feet of the lord in his upper hands while the lower hands should be in *añjali* posture.

There are two other temples which come in the category of Vaishṇava temple. They are also situated in the compound of the Sachiya Mata temple. The *lalāṭa-bimba* of these temples deviate from the general practice and depict a different figure. In them the figures of two ascetics sitting face to face have been depicted. Their open palms stretching forward touch the figures of each other. There is a pyramidical

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shaped article on their joint palm. The ascetics are flanked by two other lean and thin ascetics sitting in *utkuṭikāsana* posture. One of the hands of the each ascetic is placed on his knee while the other hand carries *daṇḍa* or *sruvā*. They are bearded and have matted hairs. A *kaṭimekhalā* encircles their waist. The iconography of the images of these ascetics is according to the details given in the *Śaiva Āgamas*. According to the *Śaiva Āgamas*, ascetic figures should be two handed, calm, serene and old in appearance. They must have matted hair and should wear *kaṭisūtra* of treebark. Their hand should carry *daṇḍa* and *chhatra* or the right hand must be in *jñana-mudrā* and the left hand should lay on the left knee. The *Mānasāra*[5] and the *Hayaśīrshapāñcharātra*[6] prescribe that the images of Vasu and Bhārgava etc. should be depicted on the 8th, 9th and 10th part of the door. In the above mentioned scene the performance of some special *yajña* ritual by Bhārgava and other ascetics seems to have been depicted. The inference is clear that this scene has been depicted according to the canonical injunctions of the *Hayaśirsapañcharātra*.

As already mentioned above temple Nos. 4 and 8 are also Vaishṇava temples. There is an interesting deviation here from the general practice in depicting the image of Lord Vishṇu in the door lintel. The figure has not been carved on the *lalāṭa-bimba* but it has been carved on the crowning *rūpa-paṭṭikā* in its middle niche. In the *lalāṭa-bimba* of these temples, winged and flying Garuḍa with a circular beak has been depicted. In the claws of the Garuḍa the tails of Nāga figures have been depicted. The Nāgas spread over to the lower portion of the door *śakhā*. They possess human busts, are ornamented and have been shown in *añjali* postures. The tails of these Nāgas are intertwined.

The depiction of Garuḍa images on the *lalāṭa-bimba* of Vaishṇava temple is natural and meaningful, but this motif is also found in Śaiva and Śākta temples. Perhaps, in Osian it has been depicted not as a Vaishṇava motif in Śaiva and Śākta temples but as a special decorative ornamentation—a creation of the ingenuity of the sculptor.

Śaiva Temples

There are four Śaiva temples in Osian. Out of them on the *lalāṭa-bimba* of the door of the sanctum of the temple No. 9[7] the image of winged Garuḍa is depicted just like it is on the Vaishṇava temple Nos. 4 and 8. The front portion of the subordinate temple situated in the North-West of temple No. 2 is in a dilapidated state. In temple Nos. 6 and 7 no figure has been depicted at all on the *lalāṭa-bimba*.

Śakta Temples

There is a small figure of Lord Gaṇeśa on the *lalāṭa-bimba* of temple No. 5 in *lalitāsana* posture. The four armed God bears an axe and a sweat bowl in his two hands. The emblems of the other two hands are not clear. He is adorned with *jaṭāmakuṭa, hāra, kaṅkaṇa, bhujabandha sarpayajñopavīta* and *dhatī*. His iconography

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tallies with that given in the *Rūpa Maṇḍana*.[8] So far as the assignment of his position on the *lalāṭa-bimba* of Śakta temple is concerned, it is there according to the rules laid down in the *Prāsāda Maṇḍana*, It has been down therein that the image of Gaṇeśa may be shown on the *lalāṭa-bimba* of any temple associated with any cult.[9]

A comparative study of the images on the *lalāṭa-bimba* of Vaishṇava, Śaiva and Śākta temples in architectural context at Osiān reveals that the rules contained in the Northern Indian *Śilpa* text called *Prāsāda Maṇḍana* have generally been followed. At places the creative mind of the sculptor is also responsible for the deviations which occur.

Notes and References

1. Osiān is situated in Rajasthan. It is a village at a distance of 67 kms. from Jodhpur connected by Railway line and Road. The name of the Railway station is also Ọsiān on the Jodhpur-Pokharan loop line. There are a group of temples of *Nāgara* style belonging to 8th to 11th century A.D.
2. On the lintel of the Ajanta cave temple No. 5 the image of Buddha is engraved on the *lalāṭa-bimba* and is flanked on both the sides by *Navagrahas*.
3. It may be noted that D.R. Bhandarkar in his report published in A.S.I. 1908-09 has described these temples as *Harihara* temple Nos. 1, 2 and 3. He has perhaps been guided to name, them as *Harihara* temple because of the existence of the image of *Harihara* (a composite form of Śiva and Vishṇu) carved on the back side niches of these three temples. But a comparative study of the image carved on the *lalāṭa-bimba* and three principal niches of the side walls reveal that these temples are dedicated to Lord Vishṇu and thus they are Vaishṇava temples only. I have described this in detail in my thesis on "*A Study of Divine Images in Architectural Context*".
4. *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 3/44/5-6.
5. *Vāstuśastra* Part II, Hindu canons of Iconography and painting.
6. *Vasu-Bhārgava vidvadbhiḥ rachayet.*
   Dwārākhya chāshṭakaṁ yukte navame daśame tathā.
   Haya Pā. 13-37.
7. The image of *Umā-Maheśwar* has been engraved in the middle niche of the upper frieze of the door way of this temple. Therefore, it appears to be a Śaiva Temple. Bhandarkar has called it a Sun Temple. He has perhaps been guided by the image of the Sun God sculptured on the principal niche from the back side.
8. *Rūpa Maṇḍana.*
9. *Gaṇeśaś-ch-ottaraṅgake. Prāsāda Maṇḍana*, Ch. 3, V. 68.

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38

THE GUILDS OF OILMILLERS IN ANCIENT INDIA

JAIPRAKASH*

Literary and epigraphical references to merchant guilds are few and far between in the early centuries of the Christian Era. In the Kushāṇa period, there are epigraphical references to iron mongers,[1] goldsmiths[2] etc. and their making benefactions to monasteries etc. There is however, one solitary reference to the existence of the guilds in the Kushāṇa period as evidenced by the Mathurā inscription of Huvishka.[3] The next epigraphical reference to the existence of a merchant guild (oilmen) is found in an inscription from Nasik[4] followed by the well-known inscription of Kumāragupta (I) and Bandhuvarman[5] dated A.D. 529 which speaks of a migration of a guild of silk weavers (*paṭṭavastra śṛēṇi*) from Lāṭa-desa in Gujarat to Dāsapura (Mandasor) in Madhya Pradesh. This inscription is interesting inasmuch as it indirectly supports the surmise that guilds were in existence during the Gupta period depending on the kind of commodity or product, they had been enjoined to produce or manufacture. The Indore copper plate[6] charter of the time of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta (A.D. 465) contains a reference to the guild of oilmen, the details of which will be discussed in detail in the following pages. In this paper a study has been made about the nature and existence of the guild of oilmen as gleaned mainly from epigraphical sources.

The oldest epigraphic reference to the guild of oilmen is furnished by an inscription at Nasik[7] belonging to king Iśvarasena (3rd century A.D.). The last portion of the inscription is mutilated, but from the extant portion it can be surmised that an amount was invested with the guild of oilmillers. The object of this endowment was to provide medicines for the sick of the *Saṁgha* of monks dwelling in the monastery on mount Triraśmi.

Some interesting side-light on the organisation of the guilds of oilmen is furnished by the Indore copper-plate inscription of Skandagupta[8] dated in the year 146 (A.D. 465). The inscription records the gift of an endowment, the interest of which is to be applied for the maintenance of a lamp which has been established in a temple

*Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore-5.

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for the service of the Sun-god. We are further told that "whatever has been given through the Brāhmaṇa's endowment to (the temple of) the Sun is perpetual from the guild of oil-men, residing at Indrapura, of which Jīvanta is the head and wherever it (i.e., the guild) may settle down after moving away from this town and entering (some other place)".[9] Several interesting points are to be noted in this short reference to a guild. Besides the custom of designating a guild by the name of its headman, it distinctly points to the mobility of the body as well as the important position it enjoyed in the economic and social life of Indore at that time.

In the Muṇḍēśvari inscription of Udayasēna[10] datable to the seventh century A.D. we have a reference to *taila* (oil).

The Lakshmēśvar inscription of the yuvarāja Vikramāditya[11] belonging to the early eighth century A.D. contains a reference to the guild of oilmen.

There is an inscription in Gwalior[12] dated A.D. 877 which refers to several chiefs of oil-millers like Sarvasvāka, Jyāśakti, Sāhulla and Gaggika residing in Śrī-Sarveśvarapura, Siṅghāka and Khahoḍāka dwelling in Śrīvatsasvāmipura, Jajjaṭa, Goggāka, Jambeka and Jambahari dwelling in Chachchikāhaṭṭikā and Nimbāditya-haṭṭikā who along with other members of the whole guild of oil-millers making a grant of one *palikā* of oil per oilmill on the ninth day of the bright half of every month. It is not clear from the description given above whether each oil-mill-guild had more than one *mahattaka*. The possibility of an oil-mill-guild having more than one *mahattaka* cannot be ruled out, since more than one *mahattaka* is mentioned as residing in one place in the inscription under study. In this connection, the statement from the *Bṛhaspati-smṛti*[13] *samhitā* that a guild should have two or three or five *mahattakas* lends support to the view that the guilds of oil-men too had in their bodies more than one *mahattaka*.

Many inscriptions belonging to the Chōḷa and other periods refer to the oil-mill or oil-press. In this regard two Tamil records of Parāntaka (*c.* 10th century A.D.) from Takkōlam[14] are noteworthy. The records are dated in 31st year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman, i.e., Parāntaka I and they register two gifts of 30 *Kaḷañju* each made by the daughter of Sōlaperumāṇaḍigaḷ (i.e., the Chōḷa king) Parāntaka (A.D. 907-953). These gifts are stated to have been left separately in the charges of *ūr* (assembly) of the two villages Chamaḷalai in Dāmarkōṭṭam aud Urāḍagam in Manayilkōṭṭam, for the supply of oil for burning a perpetual lamp each in the temple of Tiruvūral-Mahādēva at Takkōlam. Another inscription from Guḍimallam[15] (Chittoor District) belonging to the 8th-9th century A.D. also contains a reference to the oil-mills (*śekku*).

The Siyadoni inscription[16] of the latter half of the 10th century A.D. informs us that Nāgāka gave a *palikā* of oil from every oil-mill of the oil-makers. Line 23 tells us that Keśava, Durgāditya, and other oil-makers, gave a *palikā* of oil from every oil-mill to Śrī-chakrasvāmidēva, set up by Purandara in the temple of Vishṇu erected by Chandū. This shows that Nāgaka probably deposited some money with the oil-mill-

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guild of the locality by way of an endowment and entrusted it with the responsibility of carrying out the object of the endowment viz. supply of a stipulated quantity of oil to the temple. The oil-mill-guild of the locality after receiving the endowment fulfilled its object by asking every oil-mill under its aegis to supply a particular quantity of oil to the temple.

Two inscriptions from Shergadh[17] (A.D. 1028) record that three donations were given to the temple by *Ṭhakkura* Dēvasvāmin. In order to provide oil for the temple lamps, he assigned to the temple the entire produce of two of the oil-mills owned by Thāiyāka, who is described as *Tailika-raja*, and who therefore was probably the chief of the guild of oilmen. This indicates that the oil-men-guilds directly made grants to the temples.

An inscription at Piramiyam[18] dated in the year 20th Kōnāttān-Vikrama-Chōḷa (A.D. 1025) records the grant made by the king himself for the merit of his daughter. The king deposited 12 *Kalañju* of gold, as weighed by the *nagarak*-kol, with the *ūrār* of Vellakal-Vellānūr in Kāṅgaya-nāḍu and enjoined that the *ūrār* should measure out annually 90 *nāḷi* of oil (at the rate of one *uḷakku* of oil per day) to the assembly of Vīrasaṅgāda-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and that, receiving this quantity of oil, the assembly should burn a perpetual light in the temple of Tiruvalañjuli-Mahādēva at Virasaṅgāda-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

In the Jhālrāpāṭān stone inscription of Udayāditya[19] (A.D. 1086) there is a reference to a tailika-*paṭṭakila* or the head of a guild of oilmen. The expression *tatlika-paṭṭakila* for denoting the head of an oilmen-guild is quite interesting. Whether it was synonymous with the *mahattaka* applied to the oil-men-guild chiefs met with in the Gwalior inscription discussed earlier cannot be said with certainty.

In the Tamil inscriptions (11th century A.D.) at Tirukkovalur[20] (South Arcot district) there are references to donation of oil for lighting lamps etc. in the temple. Again the donation of *taila* (oil) occurs in the Bilhari Chedi inscription[21] (about 11th century A.D.) from Jabalpur district of Madhya Pradesh. We find references to oil also in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Vīrarājendra[22] belonging to the latter half of the 11th century A.D. which runs as follows :

"For lamps : 1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Āḻvār, 1 *ulakku* and 1 *āḷakku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn; 1 *ulakku* and 2½ *śeviḍu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1¼ *śeviḍu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāḷi*, 1 *ālakku* and 2½ *śeviḍu* of oil per day. The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāli* and 1 *uri*, which, at 20 *nāḷi* per *Kāśu*, cost 22-5/8 *kāśu*." The above references indicate that oil figured prominently amongst the donations made to temples.

We learn from an inscription of Vikramaditya V[23] (A.D. 1012) at Kotavumachgi (in Dharwar District of Karnataka) that the *Ūroḍeya* (the village officer) shall get these following taxes permanently : a *kuṇde* for the open space of an oil-press; ..... one *gadyāṇa* for a vedic sacrifice; etc.

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We are informed by the Kalvan plates of Yaśōvarman[24] beloging to the 11th century A.D. that the *Rāṅaka* Amma, who was a chief of the Gaṅga family, gave two oil-mills (*taila-ghāṇakas*), 14 Baniya shops and 14 *drammas* to the illustrious Muni Suvratadēva. It was stipulated that income from the land, the oil-mills and the shops were to meet the expenditure towards the worship and the maintenance of the Jain monks.

The larger Leiden plates of Rājarāja I[25] (*c.* 11th century A.D.), the Madagihal inscription[26] belonging to twelfth century A.D. and the Yewur inscription[27] (about 12th century A.D.) from Gulbarga District also contain references to oil-mill. Again the donation of *taila* (oil) occurs in the Cintra Prasasti of the reign of Sāraṅgadēva[28] (*c.* 12th century A.D.) from Sorath. In an inscription[29] of about twelfth century A.D. at Ablur (in Dharwar District) also oil is mentioned.

An inscription of the time of Western Chalukya king Perma-Jagadēkamalla II[30] (A.D. 1144) from Ablur in Dharwar district registers grants which included an oil-mill and a tax, for the maintenance of the perpetual lamp of the god Brahmēśvara.

An inscription of Sōmēśvara IV and the Sinda prince Rachamalla II[31] (A.D 1103) records that Bēchirāja (minister of Rachamalla I) built a temple to Śiva-Svayambhū and made several gifts to the god including 2 oil-mills.

All the inscriptions, quoted above, throw light on the existence of oil-mills and their activities. These inscriptions indicate that a part of the oil produced from the oil-mills were to be given to the temples regularly for the purpose of burning lamps etc. It is however not known that how much percentage of their total production were to be given to the temples and whether these oils-mills enjoyed any type of tax-exemption from the government for doing this social and benevolent service. It is quite possible that these minute details were left to be decided between the parties concerned.

An inscription from Belgaum[32] (A.D. 1204) tells us that all the traders of *Lāḷa*, headed by Paraśurāma Nāyak, Pommaṇa Nāyaka and Ammugi Nāyaka, and all the *Mateyāḷa* traders, headed by Paḍapa Nāyaka, Koṇḍa Nambi Seṭṭi, Poreyacha Seṭṭi and others; and likewise the other traders of the aforesaid place of *Vēṇugrāma*, headed by gold-workers and clothiers; and the oil-merchants; and the *diṁka-sāligas*: all these in assembly granted to the sanctuary of the divine Sāntinatha a revenue in the following form :

> ".....on each load thereof, ten *pala* of green ginger and turmeric; on each oil-mill, a regular *adda* of oil; on each load of areca-nuts, twenty-five areca-nuts; on each half-load thereof, twelve areca-nuts". This inscription is of much importance as it discloses the fact that the mercantile community (guild of oilmen etc.) of Belgaum included foreign settlers from *Lāḷa*, i.e., Lāta, Gujarat, and the Maleyālam country.

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Two very interesting references to Telligas (i.e., oilmen) are found in the Sinda inscriptions[33] (11th-12th century A.D.) which are engraved on a stone tablet lying in the front of the temple of Iśvara at Beṇachamatti in the Ron taluk of Dhārwar District. The inscription A describes that when Chāvuṇḍa (*c.* 11th century A.D.) was ruling his territory from his capital at Eraṁbarage, the *fifty families* of Telligas (oilmen) extolled in 11. 32-36 constructed the temple of *Telligēśvara* in the south-east quarter of that town and made certain gifts to it after laving the feet of *Chaṁdramauḷi-vratin* of the Lākula sect. Inscription B introduces, after prayer to the god *Telligēśvara*, mentioned above, *Vīra-Bijjala* and *Vïra-Vikrama* as sons of *Chavuṇḍa* by Śrīdēvī and describes the elder of the two namely *Vīra-Bijjala*. His wife was Tripurādevī. His brother Vikrama was a munificent donor and invincible warrior. In lines 10-12, the two brothers are mentioned with the usual titles, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Sāhasōthuṁga, etc. as ruling over *Kisukāḍu*-70, *Bāgaḍage*-70, *Keḷavadi*-300, *Nareyaṁgal*-12 and *Kariviḍi* 30. At the request of the *Fifty Telligas* and a certain *Mumjaya-Sāhaṇi* they are stated to have granted some land to the temple of *Telligēśvara* on the date 23rd January, A.D. 1167. On the basis of these two records we can say that Telligas (oilmen) were very rich, munificent and religious. It is interesting to observe here that the oilmen who constructed the temple endowed the god with the name *Telligēśvara* indicating their association.

We come to know through an inscription at Managoli[34] (in Bāgewādi tāluka of the Bijāpur district) dated A.D. 1161 that the guilds of oilmen gave one *halige* of oil on each oil-mill, for burning the perpetual lamp to the god.

These inscriptions, quoted above, throw a flood of light on the function and organisation of the guilds of oilmen. Thus the above references prove that guilds of oilmillers in ancient days not only gave donations themselves but also received money from the public who wanted to make donations through it. Thereby it took upon itself the responsibility of carrying out the object of the donations made by the donees. For doing it the guild wisely invested the money and out of the interest earned it carried out the task entrusted to it. Thus one can see that these guilds of oilmen like any other guild of that period took upon itself many social, economic and religious functions. Since these guilds were managed by men of integrity they could win the confidence and faith of the rural folk, as, otherwise, how could the common people seek their help for making perpetual endowment to the temples etc. ?

Notes and References

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. IV, p. 384.
2. *Mathurā Inscriptions*, No. 168, p. 198.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 60.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 88.
5. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III (Revised), p. 322.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 89.

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8. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III (Revised), p. 308.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 289.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 189-90.
12. *Ibid,*, Vol. I, pp. 154 ff.
13. *Bṛhaspatismṛti* : Reconstructed by K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar : *dvau trayaḥ pañchaḥ vā Kāryāḥ samhitavādinaḥ* 17, 9, 10, p. 151.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 230.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 223.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 168.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 138.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 105.
19. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1914, pp. 241-43.
20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 139.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 271.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 246.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 66.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 71.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 262.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 315-29.
27. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 329.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 271.
29. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 231.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 265-77.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 26.
33. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 109.
34. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 23.

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RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN EASTERN RAJASTHAN

A.K. Sinha and B.R. Meena*

An extensive exploratory survey from Neem-ka-Thana to Pilani in districts Sikar and Jhunjhunu of eastern Rajasthan (Map 1) was carried out by K.N. Dikshit (*IAR* 1977-78) with a view to ascertaining the archaeological potentialities of the region in the year 1977-78. A stretch of about 70 Km. along the banks of the river, which flows from south to north, was covered with the discovery of about thirty-one sites. But excepting Jodhpur-Sonari-Ghat laying on the confluence of rivers Kantli and Dodhan, which yielded a few sherds of black-and-red and Painted Grey Ware, all the other remaining thirty sites recalled the ceramic traditions of the Rang-mahal Culture of northern Rajasthan (Rydh, 1959). Apart from the discovery of new sites, Ganeshwar was also visited (Agrawal, 1981). A large number of copper artifacts including celts, arrow-heads, fish-hooks, bangles, chisels etc. besides typical Ochre Coloured and incised and painted pottery, have been reported from this site. Following are the important sites which require mention with a separated note :—

Guhala, Tehsil Neem-ka-Thana, District Sikar : Two separate mounds namely, Bagh Singh-ki-Dhani and Budhani-ki-Dhani, falling in the revenue jurisdiction of village Guhala were discovered. These sites are situated on the right bank of river Kantli and are 2 and 4 Km. away respectively from the modern village Guhala. Bagh Singh-ki-Dhani occupies an area of about 250 Sq.M. and is about 3-4 M. high from the surrounding ground level, whereas Budhani-ki-Dhani is comparatively a smaller mound, and spreads in an area of about 150 Sq.M. with about 2-3 M. thick habitational deposit. The pottery collected from the surface is entirely of red ware with or without slip. Important pottery types included bowl with narrowing sides, basin with externally collared and internally thickened rim, vase with nail headed rim, jar with externally collared rim having multiple grooves etc. The ceramic industry of these two sites draws parallels from stratum I and II of Rang-mahal.

Ranasar, Tehsil Neem-ka-Thana, District Sikar : The ancient site, falling in the revenue jurisdiction of village Ranasar, is situated on the right bank of Sirohi, a

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tributary of river Kantli and can be approached from Neem-ka-Thana by road, bound to Guhala. The mound covering an area of about 250 Sq.M. is about 8 M. high from the ground level. The site is in the process of covering up with dune material. The pottery collected from surface is of red ware and includes basin with thickened rim, bowl with obliquely out rim and tapering sides and vase with collared rim. Some of the pots are painted in black with simple horizontal bands and wavy lines. The material of this site too compares well with the early and late levels of Rang-mahal.

Ganeshwar, Tehsil, Neem-ka-Thana, District Sikar : The site which is quite denundated and situated on the north east of village Ganeshwar, is about 10 Km. south-east of Neem-ka-Thana. The pottery collected from the sections of the mound, exposed due to construction of a road, is entirely of red ware mainly comprising of vase with splayed out rim, bowl with outcurved internally thickened rim and shoulder carinated towards convex base, basin with externally collared and convex base, miniature pot and spouted vassel. Majority of the sherds are treated with a dark red slip, which in most of the cases has peeled off due to exposure to climatic conditions. No painted pottery could be noticed, whereas the presence of a variety of incised decorations (Pl. II & III) on the exterior of the pots, confined below the neck, is noteworthy. The important incised designs included typical chevron pattern, criss-cross lines forming regular diamonds, a group of wavy lines within parallel horizontal lines and deep notches arranged over the rim, below the neck or on the shoulder. The red ware picked up from this site shows a family likeness in typology and decorative pattern with the red ware recovered from the early levels of Ahar (Period IA, IB & IC) and Kayatha (Period I). The incised pottery collected from Ganeshwar also compares to some extent with the hand made red ware of Bagor Phase II (Sankalia, 1974: 266-268, fig. 67 e).

Jodhpur Sonari Ghat, Tehsil Udaipurwati, District Jhunjhunu : The mound is situated at the confluence of two upstreams Kantli (locally known as Sirohi-ka-Nala) and Guhala-Wali-Nadi. Another insignificant *nala* Sonari Ghat also joins river Kantli at the same place encircling the mound. The site is located about 16 Km. away from Neem-ka-Thana on Delhi-Ahmedabad road. Besides a wide range of red ware pottery of Rangmahal affinity a few black-and-red ware and Painted Grey Ware sherds were also collected from the surface. The Northern Black Polished ware was conspicuous by its absence. Bowls and dishes of course, in fragmentry state, are the representative types in Painted Grey and plain grey wares. Among the red wares of Rangmahal affinity sprinkler, vases, basin, lids, bowls, spouted vessels are the shapes worthy of special mention.

Ked, Tehsil Udaipurwati, District Jhunjhunu : Located on the right bank of river Kantli, the mound covers an area of about 150 Sq.M and is about 6-7 M. high from the surroundings. The site about 30 Km. away from Jhunjhunu can be approached by road bound to Neem-ka-Thana. The pottery picked up from surface is entirely of red ware and includes vases with collared rim, knobbed lids and spouted vessels. The ceramic industry of this site may also be compared with the pottery of Rangmahal Culture.

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Bhatiwar, Tehsil Udaipurwati, District Jhunjhunu : The site occupying an area of about 200 Sq.M. is situated on the left bank of the river and is presently topped by sand dunes. The site about 28 Km. away from Jhunjhunu is approachable by a road leading to Neem-ka-Thana. The pottery assemblage mainly represented by red ware, recalls parallels from early and late levels of Rangmahal. Some of the pots were found painted in black confining mostly to rim and shoulder. The painted designs comprise thick and thin horizontal bands, wavy lines, slanting strokes, triangles and concentric loops. Vases, basins, knobbed lids, spouted vessels and bowls with tapering sides are the types, deserving a special note.

Natas, Tehsil Udaipurwati, District Jhunjhunu : The mound, about 4 M. high from surrounding ground level is situated on the right bank of river Kantli and covers an area of about 150 Sq.M. The site about 23 Km. away from Jhunjhunu is approachable by an unmetalled road laid from Jhunjhunu to Chanana. The surface collection included red ware with paintings in black, executed on rim and shoulder in usual Rangmahal tradition. The common pottery shapes noticed were vases with splayed out and multiple collared rim, basin with collared and featureless rim and fragment of a spouted vessel. A fragmentary terracotta animal figurine was the only other find besides the pottery.

Solana, Tehsil Chirawan, District Jhunjhunu : The mound underlying a dune deposited material, is situated towards the west of the present village. It spreads in an area of about 150 Sq.M. with 1 M. thick cultural deposit. The site is about 20 Km. from Jhunjhunu and can be approached by road bound to Chanana. The pottery picked up from the site is of red ware comprising bowls, basins, knobbed lids, and vases. A few grey ware sherds were also picked up from the surface. The paintings executed in black is confined to rim and shoulder parts only.

Bharunda Kalan, Tehsil Jhunjhunu, District Jhunjhunu : Located on the left bank of river Kantli (now flowing about 2 Km. away from the site), the mound covers an area of about 300 Sq.M. and comprises about a metre thick cultural deposit. The site about 25 Km. from Jhunjhunu is well connected by an unmetalled road from Jhunjhunu to Hansalsar via Bharunda Kalan. The ceramic industry is represented by red ware with vases, basins, knobbed lids and bowls as main pottery types. Some of the sherds have been found painted in black in usual Rangmahal style. A noteworthy feature of the pottery from this site is that some of the pots bear applique decorations over the rims.

Aruka, Tehsil Chirawan, District Jhunjhunu : The mound, about 4-5 M. high from the surrounding ground level is situated on the western side of the present village and can be approached by a road bound to Khetri from Chirawan. The surface exploration revealed that the site was inhabited exclusively by Rangmahal people. No evidence of early occupation could be noticed. Among the pottery shapes special mention may be made of vases, bowls, dishes, spouted vessels etc. Some of the pots have been found, painted in black with simple geometric and floral pattern.

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Narhed, Tehsil Chirawan, District Jhunjhunu : The site located on the south-western part of the present village Narhed, spreads in an area of about 400 Sq.M. and is about 5.7 M. high from the surrounding. The village about 10 Km. away from Chirawan can be reached by road up to Deva and then a diversion of the road leads one right up to the village. The entire pottery assemblage is of red ware consisting vases, knobbed lids, collared basin and bowls. Some of the pots are painted with black in usual Rangmahal tradition.

A detailed study of the material collected from the explorations of the area under reference revealed that except Ganeshwar situated on the source of river Kantli and Jodhpur Sonari-ka-Ghat no other site among the entire lot contained material earlier to Rangmahal Culture of northern Rajasthan (Rydh, 1959).

So far as the Ganeshwar material is concerned Agrawal (1980) has noticed a similarity in pottery forms (O.C.P.) of the early levels of Ganeshwar with that of Jodhpura. But the material not being fully published deprives one to carry out further study in this regard. An analysis, on the basis of the present state of informations revealed that the typical Ochre Coloured Pottery of northern Uttar Pradesh found at Atranjikhera, Bahadarabad, Ambakheri and other sites cannot be compared with the Ganeshwar O.C.P. excepting a few incised designs. Dikshit (1979) was earlier of the view that the Jodhpura and Noh complex was an extension of central Ganga-Yamuna *doab* as the material of both the sites display typological affinities with O.C.P. of Ganga valley. But after the discovery of Ganeshwar which has brought to light new material he has revised his opinion and now feels that the Ganga complex may not have any direct relationship with Ganeshwar (Dikshit, Pers. Comm.).

Agrawal has pointed out towards a close resemblance in between the incised pottery of Ganeshwar with that of pre-Harappan Kalibangan. Besides the incised pottery he has also reported painted Reserved Slipped Ware, a few round terracotta cakes and dish or bowl on stand from Ganeshwar recalling similarity with pre-Harappans. Here we would like to point out that the pre-Harappan pottery (fabric D) has deep incised decoration on interior only. It is only in the late Harappan phase at Bara, that shallow incised decoration on the exterior was practised, which no doubt is comparable to some extent with the incised pottery from Ganeshwar. It is worth pointing out that the pre-Harappan assemblage also has bichrome (fabric A), and a sturdy grey ware very much akin to that of mature Harappa. But in the Ganeshwar assemblage all these basic traits are absent. It is further emphasized that the pre-Harappan assemblage has many utilitarian pottery types and is not restricted only to form outlines above. Besides pottery Agrawal has mentioned only about the round terracotta cakes and the copper objects but the position of other materials like steatite, shell, carenelian, chert, semi-precious stones and faience is not clear. Even the position of terracotta cakes of triangular shape in pre-Harappan state is not known. Keeping in view the above it will not be immature to suggest that the pre-Harappan assemblage is of a different nature and does not allow reasonable comparison

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with the Ganeshwar material at the present state of our knowledge, based on meagre data.

The items discussed above are also absent at Ahar (IA, IB & IC) Bagor (Phase II) and kayatha (Period I) where as the pottery bearing incised decorations have been found from the excavations of all the above three sites and are comparable to a considerable extent with the Ganeshwar examples. From the foregoing it appears that Ganeshwar may have some links direct or indirect with Ahar, Bagor and Kayatha rather than the pre-Harappan or O.C.P. of central Ganga-Yamuna *doab*. But to arrive at a conclusion in this regard it will be too early unless and until a thorough probe is carried out. Affinities between Bagor pottery and that of Ahar have already been observed (Sankalia, 1974 : 266) at one hand and that of the Kayatha Culture on the other. The pottery from above sites point to a kind of cultural interaction somewhat towards the close of third millenium B.C. or in the beginning of second millenium B.C. The fact is that the painted black-and-red ware present at Ahar, Bagor and Kayatha has overshadowed the problem to such an extent that the basic basal red ware substratum could not attract the attention of archaeologists.

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A NOTE ON THE EXCAVATION AT BURJ (1977) DISTRICT PATIALA

MANMOHAN KUMAR*

The site, named Burj, falls in the revenue jurisdiction of village Bhasmarha, which is situated on the bank of river Ghaggar, about 3 kms west of Punjab-Haryana border. Village Bhasmarha derives its name from Bhasmāsura, the legendry hero of the *Mahābhārata*. A local tradition supports this contention. Ghuram village is about 3 kms from the site, which is about 37 kms from Patiala. Like all the sites connected with the *Mahābhārata* this site of Bhasmarha has also yielded Painted Grey Ware.[1]

The site named Burj falls in the fields of Sh. Amar Singh and a Burj (watch tower) was constructed here and hence the name. The site yielded non-Harappan Bara type Pottery during the course of explorations.[2] The site is about 150×150×3 mts. in size and is partially levelled for agricultural purposes and partially under habitation. The site was taken up for excavations, by the author, during 1977 when the excavations at Ghuram were in progress,[3] in order to have cultural sequence in the central Ghaggar basin.[4] Secondly the owner of the land was levelling the site for agricultural use and hence it was desired to save and preserve some valuable evidences from here and the researcher sunk one exploratory trench measuring 6×6 mts.

The excavations brought to light the remains of only one culture, i.e., Bara culture. Total deposit here is 2.90 mts (see section drawing). Though the site is a single culture one, yet we can notice two sub-phases.

Burj A :

This phase yielded pottery akin to the Pre-Harappan pottery of Kalibangan and has yielded almost all the fabrics, but mostly the pottery is incised both internally and externally with large majority of externally incised variety. The pottery is both red

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ware and grey ware and the sherds of Buff ware are very few. Painted designs are mostly confined to the neck and the body. There are thick black band painted on the neck and black bands on the neck and the body of the pots. Use of white paint is limited. Incised designs are found on both red ware and grey ware.

Burj B :

There is no break between the two sub-phases. Pottery increases from bottom to the top and in this phase the pottery is profuse unlike in phase A. The painted designs show variety. Both black and white colours are used for painting, though the use of white colour alone is not found. Rather it is used along with the black colour. Another feature of the pottery of this period is the use of red slip on red ware and black slip on grey ware. Bottoms of the pots show rustications. On both the wares we find pirings. Painted designs are confined on the red ware only and these are akin to those found on Bara pottery. These include thick horizontal bands around the neck of the vessels and horizontal bands on the body, multiple horizontal bands, horizontal bands enclosing wavy lines, horizontal bands enclosing mount design, leaf or fish design sometimes enclosed by wavy lines; hatched triangles, sometimes enclosed by horizontal lines. Important is the discovery of a sherd with peacock painted in black colour (not illustrated).

The incised designs include multiple horizontal lines, incised diamond type design, oblique strokes intersecting each other, criss cross design, incised nail design. A sherd with incised peacock design is the new addition to the designs (Pl. III No. A).

Common shapes both in red ware and grey ware are dish-on-stands, dishes, bowls, miniature pots, vases, lids, jars, basins, footed vases etc. Pottery is mostly of thick fabric though medium and thin fabric is not uncommon. Most of the pots are well fired and made of well levigated clay. However, in the layer of phase B numerous ill fired pots are found which are largely mutilated. These pots are found in kiln condition. It seems that there was a pottery kiln around but in the limited area of the excavation no evidence of kiln was found. Though no house plans could be found, yet the idea of their building activities can be had from the discovery of mud brick and brick-bats. A wall running north-south was encountered and also a floor of mud bricks. Both the wall and floor rest on layer.

Other finds from the excavation include terracotta animal figurines, including broken bull, dog or cat, a small broken bull terracotta toy cart wheels with single or double hubs; t/c toy cart frames and an unidentified object with holes; triangular and round t/c cakes and circular, nodules with finger marks; t/c beads, mostly biconical t/c sling balls; beads of faience of various types viz. barrel shaped micro and bi-conical, beads of Agate (including barrel shaped), jasper, quartz, paste and ivory; bangle pieces and ear rings of faience and terracotta; stone sling balls and quarns and mullars etc.

No datable material was found so we can take the help of the typology for dating the remains. The site yielded pottery and other material remains of Bara

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culture and there is close similarity between the pottery from Kalibangan, Bara, Sanghol and Rohira.[5] Almost all the fabrics of Kalibangan Pre-Harappan pottery are found here and they continue until the end and the site is devoid of any Harappan influence. The site is non-Harappan one (non mature Harappan). The total deposit here is 2.90 m and we can date the site on these considerations from *c.* 2000-1500 B.C.

Discussion

There is lot of confusion about the position of the Bara culture, named after the type site. Bara was initially considered by the excavator as late Harappan[6] but later he changed his views and observed the Harappan elements at Bara are confined to the upper laters only.[7] The confusion was further deepened by another writer who labelled the Bara remains of late Harappan period as Mitathal II B[8] and in his papers he used the term for Bara remains, and further damage was done by a foreign writer[9] by labelling the Bara remains as *non existant Siswal C.* Even otherwise also we can't rely upon the results of Siswal where only 5 layers were found in the area of 2×2 m. with depth of only 1.25 m. Now more and more excavated sites have yielded Bara remains. These sites are Sanghol, Balu, Rohira, Banawali, Mirzapur, Daulatpur, Bhagwanpur and Mahorana.[10] The sites of Balu in Jind distt., Rohira in Sangrur distt. have yielded continuous sequence from pre-Harappan to late Harappan period (Bara type). Most of the fabrics of Kalibangan pre-Harappan continue on the latter site. Hence we can conclude that that Bara is the descendant of Pre-Harappans. These elements continued during the mature phase, as is evident from the excavations and survived during the late phase of the Harappans and even co-existed with the Painted Grey Ware People.[11] Thus we can see the phases of the Bara culture. Even Dr. Y.D. Sharma has postulated the phases of this culture.[12]

FAUNAL REMAINS FROM BURJ

SAMVIT KAUL*

The vertebrate faunal remains recovered from Burj during excavations comprise in all probability only the domestic species of cattle and sheep/goat. The sample of the animal remains available for study appears biased insofar as mainly relatively well preserved specimens have been passed on to the present author. The distribution of the thirty-three identifiable specimens is shown on next page.

The sample size of the faunal remains being very limited, no consideration has been given to them layer-wise in this treatment. Only general remarks on the nature of these remains are offered in this brief note.

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	Bos indicus	*Svasti Śrī* *Capra/Ovis*
Dental and gnathic parts	5	1
Axial skeleton :		
vertebre	3	—
ribs	2	—
Appendages :		
thoracic limb	6	—
hind limb	14	2

By far the largest number (30) of specimens in the collection belong to *Bos indicus* L. They are represented largely by fragments of limb bones followed by axial skeletal and dental parts. There are only three specimens representing *Capra/Ovis* (goat/sheep) : One right mandibular fragment containing M_3, M_2, and the distal cusp of M_1, and two fragments of limb bones.

The state of preservation of the bones under study is fairly good. However, a few specimens show breakages which in all probability have been caused during excavation. One of the specimens, a left mandibular fragment which has tentatively been included under *Bos indicus* retains broken teeth : a M_1, with completely broken crown and a M_2, with partly shattered crown. The preserved two-third of M_2 shows considerable wear with pulp exposed. Evidences of charring are visible on some of the bones as are those of gnawing on some others. No indications of cutting or chopping are seen; nor can anything definite be said about the possibility of cattle forming an important part of the dietary of the people at Burj on the basis of the evidence at hand.

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IDENTIFICATION OF NADINAGAR AND NAMDINAGAR

C.B. TRIVEDI

Nadinagar or Nadnagar, an ancient town, modern Nadner, a village on the northern bank of the Narmada lies about one hundred kilometers from Bhopal in Tehsil, Budni of Distt. Sehore in Madhya Pradesh. It is connected with regular bus services from Bhopal. In past, names mentioned in the records were identified philologically or on the evidence of folk lores, though an important evidence, at times lead to erroneous identification. Here, an attempt has been made to identify the above two places on the basis of archaeological material culture supported by epigraphic and numismatic evidences.

The mound at Nadner is a corrupt form, meaning *Nad-Nayar* > *Nad-Nagar* > *Nadner* e.g. 'town on large river', covers an area of approximately eight hectares rising to a height of twelve meter high from the surrounding plain. It is badly eroded due to frequent floods. This is further corroborated by the presence of rounded Narmda gravels, fresh water mollusca along with the strayed and worn out Middle Stone Age tools and microliths. The occupation as usual is characterised by ashy material and strewned pottery. The mound is under protection of the A.S.I.

The town in its hey day was very well protected from the South and East by the *Narmda* and the moat, now converted into a Nullah. To the north and east it is bounded by the Vindhyas. Though it was possible to locate the main streets during explorations, defence wall if any, could not be located because of the disturbed position of the mound.

Besides, pottery, brickbats, drains denoting well-planned town and sanitation as revealed from various ring wells have also been found. Though in limited exploration, no complete shape of bricks could be encountered, an enquiry revealed from the village Headman, Lare Shri Beni Singh Rathor and his son Shri Amar Sing revealed that people robbed a large number of brick-structures and used them in modern constructions.

Other important finds are :

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Terracotta Roof Tiles : A large number of tiles with single and double perforations for trying up, unperforated tiles with deep grooves to facilitate smooth flow of rain water were met with. Similar tiles have also been found in excavations at Vidisha, Tripuri, Mathura, Ahichhatra and other sites in Bihar.

Pottery : Pottery consisted of fine Grey Ware, N.B.P., Ware with steel black, golden hue, black-slipped and black-and-red ware. Typologically these are bowls, dishes, Ahichhatra XA type, *handies, lids* and spouts. These slow continuous occupation from pre-NBP period upto the late medieval period.

Microliths: Parallel sided blades reminiscent of chalcolithic traditions were also found. However, no associated pottery was available. This may be due to restricted explorations.

Terracotta skin-rubbers (*Jhama*) : These variously incised with herring bone designs, check-pattern, and star-marked were encountered. These no doubt show the sense of personal cleanliness of the people and various tastes practised by the potter.

A large number of coins recovered from the mound mostly may be classified as silver and copper punch-marked coins; tribal coins with legends *Bhagila*, *Kurarya Bhumi Datta* (?) *Hathdeva* (*Hastideva*, 1st century B.C.) and *Rano Bhanumitasa* Satvashana coins with legend '*Siri Satasa*'; coins of city state of '*Tipuri*', (Tripuri modern Tewar in Distt. Jabalpur (MP) and city state of Bhagila and more recently discovered coins with legend *Nadinagar* in the palaeography of 2nd century B.C. in the collection of Prof. Shanker Tiwari.

Nadinagar or *Nadnagar* finds mention in the *thabas* (Pillars) and *Suchis* (Gross bars) of Bharhut, and from an inscription from Bhatanwara (Distt. Satna, MP). The inscription reads : *Nadinagarikaya Ida Devar ya danams* 'gift of Indradeva or Nadinagar.' The inscriptions in the stupas at Sanchi variously refer to the gifts and donations by the inhabitants of *Nadinagara*.[4] Mention may be made of *Bhikhu Kabojasa* (*Kobaja*) (169); nuns, *Acala* (465); *Araha* (623) *Asadeva* (*Asvadeva* 714, 720); *Bhutaka* (503); *Dupasaha* (334); *Pusa* (*Pusya*) (277, 622); *Srimita* (*Srimitra*) (80); *Sridina* (*Sri Datta*) (281); *Isidasi* (*Risidasi*) (320); *Rabilasa* (581, 598); *Vasva* (323); *Vasudata* (*Vasudatta*) (358); *Yamada* (*Yamala*) (486); *Uttaratta* (*Uttarmita*) (600); the gift of Odi, an inhabitant of Nadinagara (356); and so on.

This leads to conclude that Nadinagara was a flourishing town known not only to the people of *Kakanavagiri* (modern Sanchi) and Vidisha but also to distant places as far as *Ujeni* (Ujjain), *Mahissati* (Mahismati, modern Mahesvara) and *Pataliputra* (modern Patna) as evident from the inscriptions.

Extent of the mound and the material culture confirms that it was a flourishing trade centre during the Mauryan and subsequent periods. It is interesting to note that about five km. up-stream on the Narmada (*Nammadus*) is *Bharkachha* (*Bhrigukaccha*) phonetically showing likeness to ancient *Baryagaza* modern *Bharauch*, on the mouth of the Narmda on the Arbian Sea. This name occurs in the Periplus of *Erthraean*

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Sea. It poses a problem whether it may not be the same *Barygaze* or a similar name given to the place because it commanded position of a port on the Narmda. It may be noted that from sea, the river Narmda is navigable upto Bheraghat, an outskirt of ancient Tripuri. The extent of Tripuri is evident from the presence of pottery, beads and coins found scattered all over upto the bank of the Narmda at Gopalpur and Bheraghat as found in explorations by the author.

Cunningham identified it with *Nanded* in Maharashtra. Buhler and Foucher identified Nadner in Distt. Tonk (Rajasthan). On the Southern bank of the Narmda is another locality of the same name in Distt. Narsinghpur (MP) but the same is devoid of any cultural remains.

Another place mentioned in the Inscription is *Namdinagar* which is also mentioned in architectural members around *Pradekshina path* in the stupas at Sanchi. Though Marshall pointed out that both *Nadnagar*, *Namdinagar* are one and the same but on the archaeological evidence I identify it with present Naundaur (23°5N, 77° 26′ E).

Naundaur or Nandur located in Tehsil Goharganj, Distt. Raisen (MP) discovered by Shankar Tiwari, subsequently excavated jointly by S.K. Pandeya, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Saugar and C. Krishna, Madhya Pradesh State Archaeology and Museums, identified with Namdanagar lies about 22 km. south of Bhopal on the water-divide of Betwa (ancient *Vetravati*) and the Narmada. The semi-circular mound measuring approximately 150×250 m with an average height is surrounded by a mud-fortification (*Dhulia Kot*). Periphery of the mound is disturbed because of human vandalism.

The excavations have revealed the following four periods :

Period I—(*c.* 7th cent. B.C.—4th cent. B.C.)—Pre-Mauryan.

IB—(*c.* 4th cent. B.C.—2nd cent. B.C.)—Mauryan.

II—(2nd cent. B.C.—2nd cent. A.D.)—Sātvahana.

III—(*c.* 2nd cent. A.D.—6th cent. A.D.) Kshatrapa Gupta

IV—Mediaeval

The excavations revealed roads, brick-structures, brick wells, soab ring-wells. The other antiquities including the pottery are similar to those encountered at *Nadner* (*Nadinagar*) which include Black and Red ware, N.B.P. and associated ware in period I and IB. Antiquities, terracotta objects, stamping objects, beads, copper ornaments, antimony rods, arrow-heads, iron-objects, crucibles and a figurine of ivory mother goddess.

The coins encountered are punch-marked coins, uninscribed cast coins with elephant tree-in-railing, taurin, (*nandipada*), rive-symbols, satvahana coins, Kshatrapa coins of *Damjadsri* (*c.* A.D. 150-170), *Mahakshtrapa Parikshit*, a new ruler—Naga coins of *Maharaja Virasena*, *Maharaja Pisacha*, *Bhatridamana* and *seals of Mahadan-*

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danayaka Paraka Visyadhika Karnasya, Dasgrama Deva Dasa, Maharaja Raut, Matrsena and *Hanga* (*Dattanga*) (?).

A seal with inscription *Nagama* denotes the existence of a guild. Presence of crucibles and the seals show that the town became a political and business centre having the status of *Visaya* (District). The fact is corroborated by the Periplus. It is mentioned that teak-wood various semi-precious stones, garmet, agate, carnelian, blood-stone, chalcedony, onyx, opal were in constant demand in Roman countries found their way by means of trade from their places. A number of seals mentioned for the first time the name of *Parikshata* as *Mahakshatrapa* and *Maharaja Pisacha* (also mentioned in one of the rock-shelters at Bhimbethka). These were contemporary feudataries of *Mahakshatrapa* of Ujjain.

Mention may be made of *Naindinagarikaya* (*Nandanagara Nadag* (i) ....., one *Amta Amrita* (511); *Isidina* (255); Rishidutta. Inhabitants of *Nandanagara* made magnificient gifts for building of stupas at Sanchi.

During the period, the Vindhyan Hill ranges were throbbing with life where one could conjecture the Bhikshus and Bhiksunis wearing saffron robes roaming and preaching the sermons of Lord Buddha. One notices, remains of stupas complexes and monasteries throughout, uninterruptedly from east to west in Distt. of Rewa, Satna, Raisen, Vidisha, Sehore and Rajgarh upto Ujjain. At Joshipur, Pangurana, Talpura in Budhni Tahsil of Sehore Distt. The paintings consist of *Svastika, Tri-ratna, Kalasa* and *Jataka* stories notable being *Mahakapi Jataka*. More recently brick-stupas and remains have been discovered by Shri P.K. Mishra at Deor (Medighat) in Tahsil Teonthar, Distt. Rewa.

With the increased archaeological activities of the Village to Village Survey of antiquarian remains will be possible to identify more such places.

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Indian Archaeology—A Review 1975-76.

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42

LAKSHMIPUR INSCRIPTION OF RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA INDRA III

MADHAV N. KATTI*

The inscription edited here for the first time is engraved on a herostone[1] found at the village Lakshmīpur in Dharwar District, Karnataka. It is in Kannaḍa language and characters, of the 9th-10th century, which are regular for the period.

The paleographical and orthographical features reflect the general characteristics of the period. However the following features are very interesting and call for special remarks. The characters of the entire epigraph indicate a running hand. The letter *ya* in its various formations is nearer its form met across in epigraphs the early centuries of the Christian era and thus the inscription is palaeographically of a great and rare significance. The latters *ma*, *va* and *ya* are represented almost exclusively by their cursive forms, which can be seen in the following lines; *ma* (lines 2, 9, 11, 15, 16), *mā* (lines 4, 10, 14, 16), *mu* (line 9), *mū* (line 13), *mē* (line 2); *va* (lines 3, 6, 8, 11, 13, 16), *vā* (line 9), *vi* (line 14); *ya* (lines 4, 10, 13, 14), *yā* (line 7), *yu* (line 16) and *yē* (line 12). The conjunct forms of the letters *ma* and *va* in their different forms are very interestingly drawn. We can observe the letter *mmū* (in line 13), where the main letter, the subscript and *ū* sign are joined to one another; *mmā* (in line 16), where the main letter, the *ā* sign and subscript are joined together; in the former case, the vowel following the subscript and in the latter preceding that. It is also interesting to note that the *i* sign of the letter *ṇḍi* (in *baṇḍi* in line 16) encircles the letter *sa* (in *saggālaya* in line 15). The letter *bha* has its right arm curving at a lower level than its left arm (lines 2, 3, and 9). The letters *ha* (line 5) and *hā* (lines 2 and 14) also call for special remarks. The basic consonantal form of the letter (i.e. *h*) shows a vertical rather than horizontal formation. In the inscription we also come across the use of either class nasal or *anusvāra* or both, a feature regular for this period. For the examples of class nasal, see the words *rājyaṅ-geye* (line 5), *eṇṭu* (line 6), *gaṇḍa* (in *Saṁkaragaṇḍa-* line 10) and *Kesaṅgere* (line 14). Examples of the use of *anusvāra* can be seen in

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words like *Baṁkeya* (line 10), *Saṁkara* (in *Saṁkaraganḍa*-line 10), °*gaṁ* (in *Beṇṇa-gāmigaṁ*-line 14) and *Eregaṁ* (line 17).

Of orthographical interest in the word *Mūvattichchhisira* (line 13 for Mūvatt-irchchhāsira) where the word *ichchhisira* is used for *irchchhāsira* (two thousand).

The details of date of the inscriptions are given as Śaka-kāl-ātīta-saṁvatsara 846, Pārthiva-saṁvatsara (line 6 to 8), the other particulars like the month, *tithi*, day etc. not being mentioned. The available particulars of date show that the year was 925-26 A.D. The epigraph states that on the date of the record Indara-ballaha (lines 4 to 5) was ruling over the earth. This ruler, as will be shown later, is none else bu Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III, who is known to have ruled from 914 to A.D. 29[2] and thus the record falls with in the known period of this reign.

The text of the inscription gives the following information. While *prithivī-vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭāra* Indara-ballaha was ruling over the earth (*prithivi-rājyaṁ-geye*-lines 4 and 5), Banavāsi-pannichchhāsira (i.e. pannirch-chhāsira) was divided into two parts and was governed by Baṁkeya and Saṁkara-gaṇḍa (lines 9 and 10). It is further stated that Kadamba-kula-tilaka Ajavarmmarasa was incharge of the regional administration (*nāḍ-āle*-lines 11-12) and that the *eṇbadim-baru* of Maṇḍagāde were in charge of the *pervvārvvu* (line 12). The purpose of the inscription is to record the death of Beṇṇa-gāmiga of Kesaṅgere in course of a fight in connection with the settling of a boundary dispute at Kammūru belonging to Taḷagavaḷi, when the people of Mūvattichchhisira caused the war (i.e. declared the war). It is further stated that his sons (names not mentioned) got the stone (herostone) made and donated a bull (*pōri*) and a cart (*baṇḍi*) to the brahmins (*pārvvarge*). Erega is stated to have carved the stone (lines 15-17).

The inscription is of a great political significance for the history of Karnataka in showing for the first time that the province of Banavāsi-12,000 was divided into two parts during the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra-III. It is already known that Indra had under his sway the Banavāsi province which formed an integral part of his empire.[3] A number of inscriptions mention him as Indara-ballaha (vallabha)[4]. In our record he is mentioned as Indara-ballaha and addressed as *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *bhāṭāra*; he is referred to as ruling over the earth, indicating his paramount status as a ruler.[5] The record is further dated in *Śaka-kal-ātīta-saṁvatsara*, 846. These factors and the provenance of the record make it absolutely clear that Indara-ballaha of our record was none else but Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra-III.

The history of the province of Banavāsi is well known and during the Rāshṭra-kūṭa period, either the princes of this dynasty or those of well established feudatory families were the governors of this province. Indra III himself, as a prince, was a governor of this province.[6] It is also known that the Challakētana family governed this province for years together.[7] A prince of this family by name Baṅkeya is known to have governed this province in 916, 919 and A.D. 928.[8] Baṅkeya of our record is obviously the same as this prince of the Chellakētana family, as can be seen by the data mentioned in the epigraph.

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It is a fact already known to us that the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors had a close relationship and matrimonial alliance with the family of Kalachūris of Chēdi.[9] Krishṇa II who was the predecessor of Indra III (up to A.D. 914) had married the sister of Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Kalachūri family referred to above. The context hints at the possibility that Śaṅkaragaṇḍa of our record was the same as Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Kalachūri of Chēdi family. The rulers of this family were close to the Rāshṭrakūṭas and assisted them often in their administration.[10]

Our record furnishes the information for the first time that the province of Banavāsi-12,000 was divided into two parts and governed by Baṅkeya and Śankaragaṇḍa. The reason for its division is not known as this is the only record mentioning this fact. It can be presumed that the political and administrative necessities must have been responsible for such a division. Indra must have been assisted by the Kalachūris in his conquest of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras and as a recognition of this help made Śankaragaṇa governor of a part of Banavāsi province,[11] retaining at the same time the hereditory governor of this province, Baṅkeya, over the other part.

There is one more inscription from Hāvaṇgi[12] of the same Taluk and District, also on a herostone, belonging to the reign of the same Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler and referring of the governance of Śaṅkaragaṇḍa over the province of Banavāsi (Banavāsi-nāḍu). In this record he is mentioned as *mahāsāmantādhipati* and endowed with the title, *jayadhīra, bhuvanaikarāma, abhimānadhavaḷa* and *Raṭṭara Mēru,* which reflects that by the time of this record Śaṅkaragaṇḍa had earned much admiration and endeared himself more to his imperial overlords. Śaṅkaragaṇḍa of this epigraph is evidently the same as his namesake mentioned in our inscription. It is clear from the Hāvaṇgi record that Śaṅkaragaṇḍa governed the whole of the Banavāsi province at least for some time. The record is not dated, but the comparison of the political events indicates that the Hāvaṇgi record might be later than the Lakshmīpur inscription.

Reference to Kadamba Ajavarma as in charge of the administration of the *nāḍu* is of much significance. It is known that the early Kadambas after the eclipse of their dynasty continued to rule in a subordinate capacity and Ajavarma evidently was one of them. He is mentioned as *Kadamba-kula-tilaka* and obviously belonged to the main Kadamba stock as the family name Kadamba indicates. It is also significant that he is mentioned as *arasa,* thereby indicating his hereditory and indisputable status as a ruler. We come across a Kadamba Ajavarma in the Kampli inscription of Kṛishṇavarma.[13] Though nothing is known about the parentage of Ajavarma of our record it is possible that he belonged to the lineage of Ajavarma of the Kampli record and was incharge of the administration of the region in which the findspot of our record was situated, on the date of the record.

Fleet refers to certain Ajavarman, stated to have been defeated by Piṭṭuga of the Raṭṭa family.[14] This Raṭṭa chief seems to have lived later than Prithvīvarma and earlier than Śāntivarman and hence must have lived around the middle of the 10th century. Therefore Ajavarman referred to in this context could be the same as Kadamba Ajavarmma mentioned in our record.

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Eṇbadimbaru of Maṇḍagāde was a local representative body of eighty persons in charge of the *pervvārvvu* (*perbbārvu*-administrative functions of the *mahājanas*).[15]

The inscription also refers to a fight for settling the boundary dispute and refers to a 'thirty two thousand' province, which is evidently the Noḷambavāḍi-32,000 province. As this province was adjecent to Banavāsi—12,000 there must have been a dispute in fixing the boundary of the province and that resulted in a fight. It is interesting to learn from the record that Beṇṇa-gāmiga[16] died at the feet of the *mahājanas* (lines 14-15). The place where the fight took place, i.e. Kammūru belonging to Taḷagavaḷi, must have been a border village. Thus a number of facts of historical significance are revealed by the present record for the first time.

Amongst the geographical names mentioned in the record, Banavāsi-pannichchhāsira (i.e., Banavāsi-12,000)[17] was the province comprising portions of the present day North Kanara, Dharwar and Shimoga Districts. In general, it can be described as a country lying between the Varadā and Tungabhadra rivers.[18] Maṇḍagāde is, in all probability, the modern village Mantagi, not far away from the findspot of the record. It is interesting to mention here that this village has yielded a number of inscriptions of the Rāshṭrakūṭa and later periods.[19] The other places Taḷagavaḷi, Kammūru and Kesaṅgere must have been villages around the find spot of the record. However, I am unable to identify them, with any modern village, in the absence of proper references.

The inscription states that the sons of the hero Beṇṇa-gāmiga got the sculptured and engraved herostone made and donated a bull and a cart to the brahmins.[20] This event is of much interest to the students of cultural history of the period. Erega who carved (*māḍida*) the stone was evidently the sculptor.

TEXT[21]

Panel-1[22]

1. [Sva]sti Śri-prithi
2. vī-[va]llabha-mahārā[jā]
3. dhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭ[ā] rara rā
4. jya-pravardhamāna-vijaya sale Indara [ba]
5. llaha prithivi-rajyaṅ=geye

Panel-2

6. svastì śri-s(ś)aka-kāl-ātīta-saṁvatsara
7. ṅgal=eṇtu[nū*]ra nālvatt-āraneyā Pā
8. rtthiva-saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise

Panel-3

9. Banavāsi-pannichchhāsiramuman=eraḍuṁ bhāgaṁ

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10. mmāḍi Baṁkeyanu[ṁ] Saṁkaraganḍanum=āḷuttire
11. Kadamba-kula-tilakan=Ajavarmmarasa nāḍā
12. ḷe Maṇḍagādey=eṇbadimbaru pervvārvvu[23] geye

Panel-4

13. Taḷagavaḷiya Kammūra pola-gaḍiya bavarakke mūvatt-ichchhisiramu nepa
14. māḍidalli Kesaṅgereya Beṇṇa-gā[m]igaṁ mahāja[24] nada kā[la[25]]
15. keḷage sattu saggālayak=ērida[ṁ] ātana makkaḷ=ī kallam=mā
16. ḍida[r*] pōriyum=baṇḍiyuma pārvvargge koṭṭar=ī kallam=māḍidā
17. Eregam

Notes and References

1. Noticed in *A.R.Ep.* 1947-48, as B. No. 203.
2. P.B. Desai, *A History of Karnataka*, pp. 131 and 151.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *SII* Vol. XVIII. pp. 12 ff, and *ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 16. In these records, he is mentioned as Indara-ballaha or Indara-vallabha.
5. He was also endowed with the titles *nityavarsha*, *nirupama-vallabha* etc., vide *SII* Vol. XVIII, pp. 14-15.
6. *Ibid.*, p. ii.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. v. ff.
8. *Ibid.*, N.L. Rao identifies him as Baṅkeya II, vide *Ibid.*
9. P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 and 131.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
11. *Ibid.*, *cf.* pp. 131-32 where Indra is stated to have conquered the Gūrjara-Pratīharas. Śankara-gaṇḍa's governance over part of Banavāsi-12,000 is confirmed by another record (*cf. K.I.* Vol. VI, pp. 5-6).
12. *A.R.Ep.* 1949-50, B. No. 90.
13. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX, No. 11, pp. 75 ff and *JESI* Vol. IX, p. 114. For various other shades of this family name *vide* my article, *Kadamba Bureaucracy*, presented at the Kadamba Conference at Banavasi in February 1983 (under publication).
14. J.F. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 552. In the Barur inscription (vide *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, SK No. 45 B), there is also a mention of certain Kadamba Ajavammarasan (line 45) and Ajammarasa (line 60), who according to M.J. Sharma appears to be the same as his name sake mentioned in the Tagore Plates (vide *Ep. Ind. ibid.*,) and the Kampli inscription. Since this record is not dated and the genealogy of these Ajavammarasa and Ajammarasa is not given and the context does not hint at their exact period, they cannot be identified either with Ajavarma of the Tagore plates or Kampli inscription or with the Kadamba ruler referred to in our record.
15. For a detailed discussion on *perbbārvvu*, vide the article by K.V. Ramesh published in the *Studies in Indian Place Names* (*JPNSI*), Vol. II p. 26.
16. In the name *Beṇṇa-gamiga*, the term seems to denote his hereditory affiliation rather than his actual status as a village-chief.
17. For a detailed discussion on this and other territorial divisions, *vide* my article in *Studies in Indian Place Names*, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

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18. *SII*, Vol. XVIII, p. xxiii.
19. *A.R.Ep.* 1947-48, B Nos. 207-21.
20. It is possible that the cart was used by their father while alive and was donated by his sons along with a bull with the intention that their father's journey after death should be smooth.
21. From the inked impressions.
22. The inscription on this panel flanks the figure of a *pūrṇakumbha* with a *svastika* symbol above, figures of sun and moon at its top right.
23. Engraved separately to the right side of the panel. Below this letter there is an incomplete figure resembling part of the *śrivatsa* symbol.
24. There is a *kākapāda* sign above the letter *ja* and the letter *na* is engraved below the last line of the panel separately.
25. Engraved above the letter *kā* (in between the lines 13 and 14).

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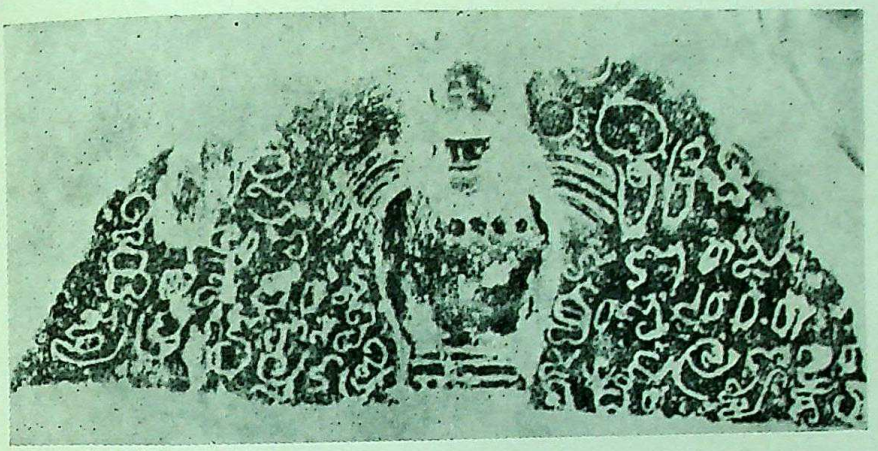
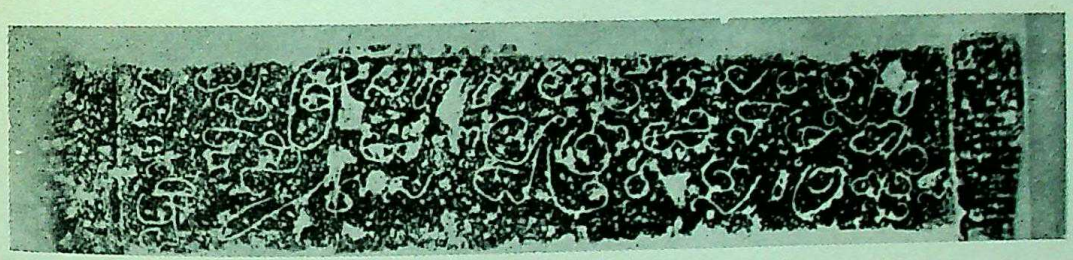
Lakshmipur Inscription of Rashtrakuta Indra III



1



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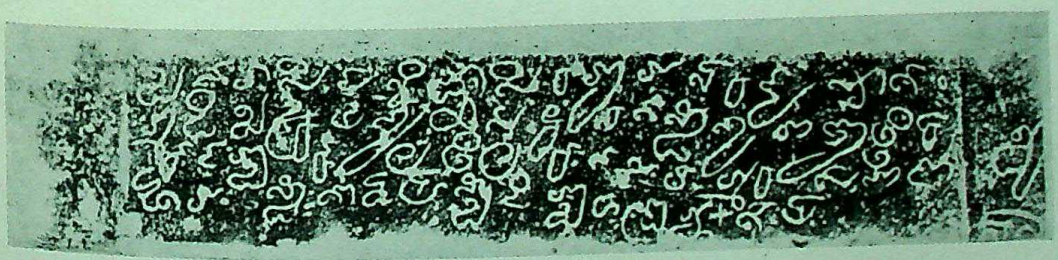

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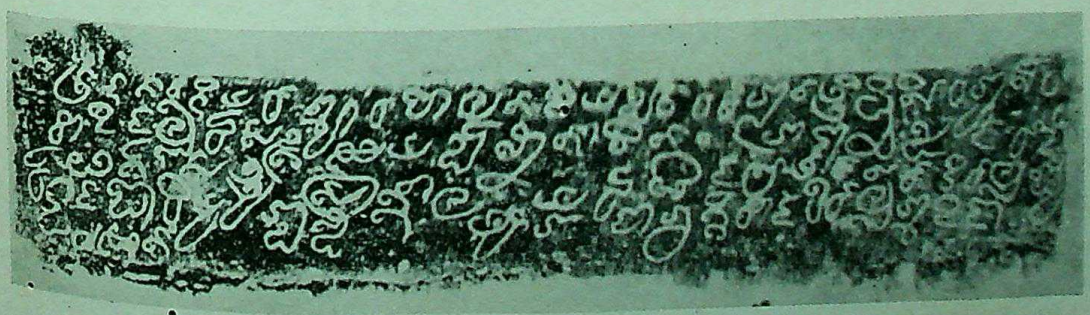

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AN EARLY SCULPTURE OF BODHISATTVA AVALOKITEŚVARA[1] FROM RAMATHIRTHAM NEAR CHIMAKURTI HILLS IN PRAKASAM DISTRICT, A. P.

K. KRISHNA MURTHY*

During the course of a recent exploration[2] at Ramathirtham near Chimakurti hills in the Prakasam District, a Buddhist site could be located. Large size bricks, red polished ware sprinklers (*Dharmakārakas of the Cullavagga*) and the red ware bowls (*thālikas of the Buddhist text*) ware picked up from the site. These large size bricks were unearthed during the digging of the foundation pits necessitated in connection with the renovation of Mokṣhārāmalingēśvara temple of the Telugu Chola period at Ramathirtham. The present icon of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara under reference is reported to have been recovered from this vicinity.

The lime stone image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Plate) is two handed and exuberantly ornamented. He is holding a lotus in his right hand, the stalk of which can be made out in his mutilated right hand. His left hand is resting on an ornamented mace. His *kirīṭamakuṭa*, *makarakuṇḍala graiveyika*, *yajñopavīta*, *udarabandha*, *sarpa-keyūra* and the *prakoshṭha vālayas* are quite impressive. He wears an *antarīya* (dhotī) the folds of which are clearly sculptured. The *antarīya* is secured by means of a *kamarabandha* (waist band), tassels of which can be seen slinging in the centre. Stylistically and iconographically this sculpture of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara can be dated to 2nd century A.D.

With the unique discovery of this image here, it is evident that the Buddhism had adopted the form of Mahāyāna as early as in the 2nd century A.D. itself. The worship of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is said to have started in Andhra at Pothalaka in the region of Dhānyakataka (the modern Amaravati). Although it is difficult to locate precisely the place Pothalaka at present it is clear[3] that the worship of Avalokiteśvara was adopted in and around Dhānyakataka by 2nd century A.D. One

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such place seems to be the present Ramathirtham. The iconographic traits, the idiom of the sculpture and the nature of the stone used (the greenish lime stone) clearly point out that the idol found in this area is definitely that of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of the 2nd century A.D., whose worship was later adopted in various provinces in India and elsewhere. As such, this sculpture becomes the earliest form available of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

The only deity in most of the earlier *dharanis* is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who was a devotee of Buddha Vairochana. The Tibetan work *Maṇikambum*[4] relates the story, of his birth "once upon a time, Amitābha, after giving himself upto earnest meditation, caused a white ray of light to issue from his right eye, which brought Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) Bodhisattva into existence". It goes on to say, Amitābha blessed him, where upon the Bodhisattva brought for the prayer : '*Om, maṇi padme, hūm*!' 'Oh! the jewel (of creation) is in the lotus!'[5].

However, the conception of Avalokiteśvara is datable to Aśokan period.[6] In the work of *Mahāvāstu Avadāna* the *Mahāsanghikas* describe him as the "Bhagavan, who takes the form of a Bodhisattva, whose duty is to look around (*Avalokita*) for the sake of instructing the people and for their constant happiness".[7] This conception of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara took concrete form in the *Amitāyus Sūtra* of the *Sukhāvati vyūha*. He first appears in the *Sukhāvati vyūha*,[8] a work datable to A.D. 100. As such, the icon of the 2nd century A.D. under question becomes the earliest sculptural representation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

Again, in the *Guṇa kāranda vyūha*[9] (4th century A.D.) this Bodhisattva is glorified as the first god to issue out of the primordial Buddha (Ādi-Buddha) and to create universe. In this text the goddess Tārā does not appear while there are references to Maheśvara and Umā as devotees of Avalokiteśvara. It seems that in course of time his Umā-Mahêśvara concept was superimposed on Mahāyāna and paved the way for the advent of *tantrayāna*.

It is in this text again that we come across for the first time the well known mantra '*Om maṇi padme hūm*' with an account of the immense magical merit derived by the utterance of the six syllables. This *mantra* is said to be the innermost core (*hṛidanga*) and the quintessence of all knowledge (including the *navāṇga*, nine divisions of the *Tripiṭaka*) and was known as the *Śaḍakṣharī Mahāvidyārājñī*.

Thus, we see that upto the 4th century A.D. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was the chief object of worship and the goddess Tārā had not yet been included in the Buddhist pantheon. It is from the 7th century A.D. onwards only that we find the exuberance of Tārā *stotras* and goddess Tārā (*prajñā* or *prajñāpāramitā*) raised to the mothership of all Buddhas and made a companion of Avalokiteśvara, the personification of love, *maitri* and *karuṇā*.

Avalokiteśvara, being the compassionate Bodhisattva takes numerous forms to lead people to *Nirvāṇa*. A Buddhist legend refers to his 333 incarnations.[10] The *Sādhanamāla* describes fifteen different varieties of Avalokiteśvara in thirty eight

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sādhanas. In the *Macchandar Vahal* of Katmandu (Nepal), 108 different forms of him are painted. However, the number of forms given may not be final and by no means exhaustive. But the common feature of all these is the presence of lotus in one of the hands. Our sculpture may have been one of the earliest forms of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. However, a near example of the sculpture can be seen in the form of Simhanādha Lokeśvara where the *gadā* is replaced by a sword.

To sum up, the icon of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara under reference indicates the earliest form of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of 2nd century A.D. and becomes the earliest sculptural presentation that the Mahāyānists adopted. That the idol is of early date (2nd century A.D.) is confirmed by its *saumya* countenance, the absence of Amitābha in his crown, and the absence of Tārā which are the characteristic appendages of the later Avalokiteśvara icons. Thus, Ramathirtham marks the presence of the earliest Mahāyāna Buddhist centre and so far the first known sculptural form of Avalokiteśvara in the country. The worship of Avalokiteśvara was probably the revival of the old worship of the hill god[11] and that is why Avalokiteśvara is also known as 'the lord that looks down from on high' and generally the figure of Avalokiteśvara was placed on the hill-top.

By the early centuries of the Christian Era, that this tract had been a strong Buddhist region is evident from the vigorous efforts put forth by the Pallavas (*Kumāra Vishṇu* and others) through the establisment of Vedic centres (*agrahāras*) for the promotion of *vaidika dharma* which according to them was in the declining stage (*avasanna vaidikadharmoddharaṇa*). This centre at Ramathirtham naturally must have been one of those places in Āndhra hallowed by the divine presence of Āchārya Nāgārjuna.

Notes and References

1. Avalokiteśvara literally means *avalokita*—looking on, *Iśvara* lord. The *Saddharma* Puṇḍarika renders the meaning as 'the lord who looks in every direction'. According to the Tibetans "the lord who looks". European scholars give the meaning "the lord of what we see", "the revealed lord whom we see", or "the lord with compassionate glance". Sir Charles Elliot gives the meaning "the lord who is looked at", Vol. II, p. 13. Finot follows the Tibetan rendering "the lord who looks", *Lokesvara en Indo-Chine*, p. 1 and v. Zimmer, *Der Name Avalokiteśvara*, *Zeitschrift de. Deutsche Morgen Landischen Gesellschaft*, Band I, Heft, 1.
2. The author assisted by his colleagues S/Shri G.V.S. Rao and P. Seetharamamurthy conducted exploration in this area in March, 1982 and brought to light a Mahāyāna Buddhist Centre at Ramathirtham. The icon under reference is from that vicinity.
3. However, some scholars tend to identify the place Pothalaka with Potharlanka in Divi taluk and this needs confirmation.
4. It is a Tibetan historical work attributed to the Tibetan king S Rong-rsan-sgam-Po, according to Scholagintweit, *Buddhism in Tebet*, p. 77.
5. According to Hodgson the correct translation is : "the mystic triform is in him of the jewel and lotus ! '*Om* (B.H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1916). According to Thomas, it should be written : *Om maṇi padme hūm* which

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thus changes the sense to the invocation of a feminine divinity. V.A.H. Franche *JRAS*, July, 1915, 'The meaning of the *om-mani-padme-hum*'.

6. B. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist iconography*, Calcutta, 1968, p. 143.
7. Senart, *Le Mahavastu*, Vol. II, p. 294.
8. This work was first translated into Chinese between A.D. 148 and 170 while the smaller recension was translated into the same language between A.D. 384 and 417. Max Muller: *Sukhāvati vyūha*, introduction, pp. iii-iv.
9. *Kāranda vyūha*, : Ed., Samasrami, pp. 21-22.
10. R S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains*, Bombay, 1972, p. 112.
11. Allice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (July, 1962), p. 58.

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Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara from Ramathirtham
near Chimakurti—2nd cent. A.D.

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44

TAMIL VAṀŚĀVAḶĪS AS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF MEDIEVAL TAMIL COUNTRY

VENKATA RAGHOTHAM*

The state is a great robber band, for robber bands, what are they but little states ? —Saint Augustine

I

The three centuries which intervened between the accession of Krishnadevaraya to the throne of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1509, and the acquisition of hegemonic control over the Tamil country by the English East India Company in the beginning of the nineteenth centrury were dominated by one theme : the emergence and consolidation of a political order in which Telugu warrior adventurers and their kinsmen occupied superior positions as chieftains of little domains known as *pāḷaiyams*. In the settled core areas of the Tamil country—Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Choḻamaṇḍalam—Tamil chiefly families claiming putative connections with one or the other historic dynasties, continued to occupy positions of local dominance by recognizing the dharmic supremacy of the Vijayanagara kings and their surrogates. A striking feature of Telugu control was the high visibility of Telugu or *Vaḍuka* chieftancies in the dry, flat tract stretching between Kodaiyakanal Hills to the Baramahal area, where black cotton soil predominates.[1] In this paper, the genealogies of some of the Telugu warrior lineages are analyzed with a view to understanding a set of issues. First, the *vamśavaḷis* are viewed as "pragmatic charters"[2] which ,while recounting the origin myths of the Telugu warrior lineages, are statements of indigenous conceptions of rulership. Second, *pāḷaiyam* as an arena of local politics is analyzed both in terms of "cognitive space" and the set of relations which constitute and are constitutive of chiefly authority. Finally, the implications of the symbolic incorporation of *pāḷaiyams* into

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the wider world of Tamil politics through the institution of *kumāravarkkam* are examined.

The themes indicated in the preceding paragraph are studied, herein, on the basis of evidence culled from the *Mackenzie Collection*. This remarkable collection of documents assembled by Colin Mackenzie in the early decades of the nineteenth century, consists of several hundred genealogies of chiefly families, statements recording temple legends (*śthalapurāṇam-s*) local histories of the tracts known in British administrative parlance as "Ceded Districts", eye copies of inscriptions found in Tamil "fanes", and kaifiyats (a peculiar Persian usage, which seems to suggest signed statements orally dictated to one of Mackenzie's scribes), recording the customs of certain communities, together with details of their ritual and modes of worship. Assisted by a team consisting of four scholars,—three Tamils and a Desastha, Appaji Rao—each of them erudite in one of the four languages of south India—Tamil, Kanada, Malayalam and Telugu—Mackenzie scoured the entire Madras Presidency for historical material. There is evidence to indicate that, Mackenzie prepared a detailed memorandum in which he outlined his objectives, and gave a copy to each of his assistants, which unfortunately has not survived.[3] This collection is a tribute to the labor and versatility of a truly remarkable man whose loyalty to his chosen task, leaves anyone who has worked with the *Collection*, inspired.

The *Mackenzie Collection* has not been adequately utilized by historians with few exceptions such as Venkataramannya,[4] Sathyanatha Aiyer,[5] Burton Stein,[6] and Nicholas Dirks;[7] most have been sceptical of their historical content. In a recent monograph on the history of the Tamil country during the Vijayanagara period, the author does not cite the *Mackenzie Collection* even once;[8] nor is this a recent tendency. Caldwell, writing in the last century dismissed them with the sweeping condemnation, "they are little better than pure fiction".[9] Nilakanta Sastri referred to them as "semi-historical" and further declared that, "they (*Mackenzie Collection*) have been over rated and are in fact of little value."[10] It is not difficult to suggest reasons for the neglect of these documents. They were compiled in the early nineteenth century, long after the events they purportedly describe. Hence, they contain grave chronological inconsistencies, errors in dynastic lists, fanciful, if not entirely quaint, accounts of the origin of the concerned families, unreliable versions of historical events known from other independent sources, and finally most damaging of all in this chorus of shortcomings, the entire *Collection* consists of anecdotal history wherein fact and myth are inextricably intertvined. In the light of these limitations, it may seem difficult to sustain the position that the *Mackenzie Collection* is an important source for the reconstruction of the political processes in late medieval Tamil Nadu. Wilson, who was aware of these problems, prudently observed[11] :

> Having in the Mackenzie Papers sometimes met with a fact plainly narrated, and in others veiled by fable, metaphor and symbols I have learned not to dismiss such seemingly crude Orientalisms but to look through them.

The relevance of the *Mackenzie Collection* for the present study stems from its very

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imperfections; the vamsavalis are cast in the form of post-facto rationalizations of chiefly authority, and hence the metaphors and symbols employed in them afford insight into the functioning of a political system whose ideological components were expressed through metaphors, symbols and myths.

II

A Typology of Chiefdoms : Internal Structure and External Linkages

Burton Stein's work embodied in *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, marks a significant departure in historical perceptions of power structure of pre-Modern South India in particular, and pre-Colonial India in general. It not only suggests a viable alternative for the study of political relations and their articulation in the context of medieval South Indian state formations, but also raises a number of issues, which shifts the arena of politics from the domain of large kingdoms to the micro level of medieval South Indian states. As a necessary precondition for the stability and durability of large dynastic systems, was the constant upward articulation of relations which bind the disparate realms of local chieftains to a center of ritual authority. The attractiveness of this typology for analysing power relations at the level of chiefdoms stems from its encapsulation a state of fluidity at the level of chiefdoms, but apparent stability at the centre. Political integration of an "absolute" kind is inhibited by the presence of complementary opposition between different localized segments—valaṅkai/iḍaṅgai conflict in Chōḷa times, Telugu/Vellalar, Maravaṇ/Kaḷḷar in Vijayanagara times. In Vijayanagara times the complementary opposition was largely between groups of Telugu migrants who established their sway over parts of the Tamil country and the broad Tamil Veḷḷāḷar grouping; there was at the same time opposition between the Maravas, who were divided into seven exogamous groups and the Kaḷḷars which found its partial resolution in the establishment of kingships—Setupaṭhi for the Maravas, Toṇḍaimāṇ for the Kaḷḷars—both of which were created by Telugu Nayakas, who stood neutral in the segmental opposition between Tamil peasant lineages.

Complementary opposition between the various discrete social groups and the presence of political entities arranged pyramadically within an expanding system of upward political linkages are the salient features of a segmentary state.[13] In such states ritual authority is accorded to one centre; the subordinate units—chiefdoms and domains of "little kings"—are replicated versions of the superordinate authority and retain their integrity and intrinsic features by being segments of a larger body politic.[14] The centre of ritual power and the domains in which the legitimacy of its ceremonial and hegemonic claims were recognized and expressed in different ways, together constituted a regional power structure.

In segmentary state formations, of medieval Tamil Nadu chiefdoms were vital components. Chiefdoms were primarily realms controlled by a dominant lineage, though segmented over the passage of time, were capable of immense massing effect

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due to the complementary opposition existing amongst the equivalent lower segments. In chiefdoms, as with the centre of political authority, higher and more complex political relations were constituted by the integration of the corresponding lower level, equivalent parts. What differentiates "chiefdoms" ruled by chiefs from kingdoms ruled by kingly houses is the presence of demarcated levels of political transactions : each segment occupies an intermediate position vis-a-vis the segments over and below it. The totality of political relations constituted the pan regional state which interacted primarily at the level of large chiefdoms. Linkages within a chiefdom were maintained through complex strands of agnatic and affinal ties : it is this feature which explains the durability of chiefly systems; the chieftain was the dominant lineage personality. The reach of a chieftain was coterminous with the spread and distribution of his kinsfolk. While a chiefdom was the arena of politics of a dominant lineage, it also had an economy run on autarchic lines, with the chieftain as the prime agent of the economic processes.

The political economics of chiefdoms are highly localized, and whatever trade exists is restricted to barter trade. Within a chiefdom, often with fragil material and resource bases, the chieftain performs two functions by virtue of his "centricity" in the social structure. The chieftain was the mediator between mutually antagonistic segments of his domain and it is this which makes him a central figure of the economic process as well. The two functions are :[15]

1. redistribution of resource garnerred from the underlying population and,
2. institutionalization of a system of exchanges in which the chieftain or his agent was obligated to behave in a manner consonant with the cultural norms of his constituency.

In chiefdoms there existed an assymetrical relationship between the resources claimed, commandeered or voluntarily offered to the chieftain and the reciprocal obligations stemming from them. Marshall Sahlins has rightly pointed out this imbalance in relations was basic to the "large scale redistribution under chiefly aegis.[16] Redistribution was carried out by the exercise of the right of call on the resources of a social collectivity and the obligations of generosity. Redistribution served a dual purpose. In a material sense it sustained a given society as it often took the form of investment in socially productive enterprises, economic, religious or cultural.[17] It also performed an instrumental function : it meant subordination to a central authority and thus was "ritual of communion".[18]

This typology of chiefdoms has generated a framework which is used in the next section to analyze the functions of a chieftain in the dry interior belt of the Tamil country. In the genealogies used in this study the chieftain is referred to as a pāḷaiyakāraṉ, a term that meant "possessor of an armed following based in a camp". The concepts invoked in the discussion which follows is that of the segmentary state. The *pāḷaiyakārans* (anglisized : polegars) are viewed as an integral part of the Tamil segmentary state of the medieval period and behaved politically and socially as chieftains, as will be indicated below. In the case of the *pāḷaiyakārans* analyzed in

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this chapter their vertical linkage was with the Telugu Nayaka state of Madurai (A.D. 1556-1709) which in turn was ritually linked to the Vijayanagara state based first in Hampe and in the post-Talikota period in Peṇukkoṇḍa and later in Vellore.[19] The major theoretical issue addressed herein is; Can *pāḷaiyakārans* be called chieftains? Empirical support for the discussion is derived, as indicated in section I, from the *vamśāvaḷis* preserved in the *Mackenzie Collection*. The method employed in this discussion is firmly rooted in comparative political anthropology. Pāḷaiyakāraṇs of the type analyzed here were a major political force in the Tamil country, and hence the practical relevance of this study lies in that such analysis may help to better the understanding of pre-colonial political structures of India.

III

The Vamśāvali Texts and Their Historical Contexts

The genealogies analyzed in this chapter are from the *Mackenzie Collection* and are of the following *pāḷaiyakaran* families :

1. The *vamśāvaḷi* of the *pāḷaiyam* of Reṭaiyampāḍi.[20]
2. The *vamśāvaḷi* of the *pāḷaiyam* of Virupākshi.[21]
3. The *vamśāvaḷi* of the *pāḷaiyam* of Nillakottai.[22]

These *vamśāvaḷis* deal with *paḷaiyakārans* of the Kambaḷattār caste who were located in Madurai/Dindigul region. The Kambalattars were Telugu speaking people, who entered the Tamil country in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The term Kambaḷattar, is derived from Kambaḷ meaning blanket, referred to three endogamous divisions which were, Vikkili, Thokala and Yerrakolla, with the Vekkili group commanding the highest social status.[23] All of the above mentioned genealogies are of *pāḷaiyakāran* families belonging to the Vekkili group. Thurston lists a large number of sub groups existing in each of the three divisions;[24] the *vamśāvaḷis*, however, do not give any indication of the exact lineage to which the pāḷaiyakāraṇs belonged. A great deal of ethnographic material about the Kambaḷattārs exists in the early records of the English East India Company, but they err on the side of fancy, and hence not totally reliable.

The genealogies preserved in the *Mackenzie Collection* are mainly those of chiefly families, holding putative titles (patta) to *pāḷaiyams* or armed camps. Historians of medieval south India, with few exceptions, have viewed *pāḷaiyakārans*, or holders of *pāḷaiyams*, as administrative officials responsible for carrying out police duties in the districts under their charge; a responsibility delegated by a central authority.[25] This view, which has gained considerable acceptance in South Indian historiography, has its origin in the writings of early English soldier-administrators, from where it was assimilated into the official district manuals and settlement reports. Sir Thomas Munroe, one of the ablest administrators of the Madras Presidency, advocated the royatwari tenure in South India on the assumption that lands held by

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pāḷaiyakāraṇs were originally government (circar) lands, granted as revenue free (inam) lands for their public services and in the chaas following the end of the Vijayanagara state, seized them. In a letter written to his superiors in the Board of Revenue, at Fort Saint George, Munroe wrote :

> Polygars were originally public servants of the government or renters of districts, who revolted in times of disturbances; some of them received their villages at first inam as a personal allowance for the support of their rank.[26]

The view that holders of *pāḷaiyams* were "public servants" and hence could be appointed and dismissed by the ruling power, provided the justification for launching a series of military expeditions against the polegars in the late eighteenth century. Behind this self serving justification is a hard historical reality : *pāḷaiyams* were of recent origin as the oldest genealogies do not go back, beyond three hundred odd years. Sir Thomas Munroe, who consistently maintained that polegars usurped power wrote : Polygars usurped power after the anarchy that followed Bejoynagar.[27] The *pāḷaiyakāraṇs* seen from behind the walls of Fort Saint George or from the Collector's bunglow do not appear to be more than "usurpers" or "minions of the state". Taking this interpretation is dangerous, as it results in the dismissal of a wide range of legitimation strategies employed by the *pāḷaiyakāraṇs* to acquire and legitimize their claims over their domains. The *vamśāvaḷis* are best seen as charters recording the processes of legitimation.

The *vamśāvaḷis*—Kambaḷattar, Marava and Gaundar—share a common structural pattern. First, they are as the term *vamśāvaḷi* indicates genealogical documents concerned primarily with the political fortunes of the ruling lineages, and they recount, after a fashion, the processes through which a family acquires chiefly status. The chronological reach of the *vamśavāḷis* is considerable, as they document the history of over twenty generations, from the obscure origin of the palaiyam in late Pāṇḍyan and Vijayanagara times (fourteenth century) to their incorporation into the Madras Presidency. Second, the founder of the pāḷaiyam and his lineage is singled out for elaborate treatment; often this aspect merges with the origin myth of the ruling family. Third, acts of valor such as slaying of tigers single handed, encounters with wild boars and elephants, destruction of Kallar tribes, fights with rival pāḷaiyakaraṇs, are given exaggerated prominence in the *vamśāvaḷis*, which is explained in part by the result which such encounters yield. Fourth, the encounters where the *pāḷaiyakāraṇ* shows great daring, often result in the grant of titles, insignia, and royal emblems, which are recorded in considerable detail in the *vamśāvaḷis*. Fifth, the acts of charity performed by the pāḷaiyakāraṇ are recorded. Sixth, between two major sequences of events, the long succession lists are given. Seventh, the *vamśāvaḷis* explicitly mention the major regional powers with which the *pāḷaiyakāraṇs* interacted. Eight, the geographical boundries of the *pāḷaiyam* are appended at the end of the succession tables. Ninth, the *vamśāvaḷis* generally end with protestations of loyalty to the East India Company, followed by the signed declaration of the last *pāḷaiyakāraṇ*. Within this structure, is couched the symbols,

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myths and claims of the Tamil chieftain—the *pāḷaiyakāraṉ*. Nicholas Dirks, has persuasively argued that *vaṁśāvaḷi* texts are essentially historical, though he adds that the myths in the *vaṁśāvaḷis* make them refractory to the methods of history.[28] The mythical element is exclusively restricted to the origin stories of the *pāḷaiyakāraṉ*, and his relationship with the temple of his *kuladēvatā* situated in the *pāḷaiyam*, the rest is narrative history. The myths incorporated in the *vaṁśāvaḷis* serve a historical function, and this makes them an integral part of the charter of claims—royal, political and social—which are preserved in these texts.

The political kaleidoscope presented by the *Mackenzie Collection* is the residue of successive waves of Telugu migration into the Tamil country. From the middle of the fourteenth century, with the establishment of the Vijayanagara state, the Tamil country was drawn into the orbit of Vijayanagara politics. Raids of *vaḍugu* (northern) warriors had one permanent effect on Tamil political structure : it left a residue of Telugu warrior groups, which eventually provided the nucleus for the expansion of Telugu warrior control over the region.[29] Burton Stein, has suggested that the emergence of the nayaka states—Madurai and Tanjore—as "strong, competitive centres to Vijayanagara authority",[30] in the seventeenth century, was predicated upon the presence of sizeable groups of Telugu settlers in those areas. He has pointed out that the well established Telugu settlers served as the political base for the transformation of military chieftaincies into ambitious kingships.[31] The *vaṁśāvaḷis* preserved in the *Mackenzie Collection* are an excellent source for the study of this process, as they indicate vividly the gradual extension of networks of agnatic and affinal kinsmen over widely dispersed territories. The formal recognition accorded by the Nayaka state of Madurai completed the process of transformation of local 'Big men' into chieftains.

The use of *vaṁśāvaḷis* as a source for the study of political relations between chieftains—the *pāḷaiyakāraṇs*—and the regional kingship of the Madurai nayakas can be justified on the basis that power relations at the micro level, once established is resilient to drastic change. Palaiyams were an important constituent of the Vijayanagara segmentary state, as they were the focal point of local politics. It is only in the *Mackenzie Collection* where we find evidence of the dynamics of local political systems. The claims set forth in the genealogies, compiled by the descendents of the pāḷaiyakāraṇs of Vijayanagara times, are justified on the basis of ancient usage and are expressed through the accumulation of royal symbols over the passage of several generations; both these aspects operated within the traditional construct of rajadharma embodied in the normative works of Indian statecraft. Thus, though the *vaṁśāvaḷis* were assembled, at time hastily and prefunctorily, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, they are valuable sources in that they are statements of chiefly claims made within the paradigm of political and cultural norms, of an earlier period.[32] The words of the great historians, Marc Bloc, who raised the regressive and comparative method to a high level of sophistication are apt :[33]

> The historian.....is perpetually at the mercy of his documents; most of the

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time he must read history backwards if he hopes to break the secret cypher of the past.

IV

The Politics of a Pāḷaiyakāran

The *vamśāvaḷis* preserved in the *Mackenzie Collection* are best seen as "pragmatic charters"[34] expressing, what was perceived to be, legitimate claims over *pāḷaiyams*. In the three centuries, during which *pāḷaiyams* remained stable units, and the focal point of locality control, the legitimation of the *pāḷaiyakāraṇs* authority, was predicated upon an external, superior source—the nayakas of Madurai, the Wodaiyar dynasty of Mysore, the ephermal state built by Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan. When, in the early years of the 19th century the East India Company succeeded in establishing its hold over the Tamil country, the *pāḷaiyakāraṇs* had no reason to believe that the new star on the Tamil horizon would be any different. The *vamśāvaḷis* seek to state the legitimate claims both in relation to the power that had then emerged and in relation to the symbols and idioms in which *pāḷaiyakāraṇs* had traditionally represented themselves to their dominant political system. What are expressed in *vamśāvaḷis* chiefly claim; what they seek is affirmation of those claims.

The genealogies of Telugu *pāḷaiyakāraṇs* preserved in the *Mackenzie Collection* contain conventionalized statements, recording the migration of Kambaḷatter clans from Northern India, their arrival at Annaiyakuṇdi (near Hampe), their subsequent settlement in the Madurai/Dindigul region, where they "established villages introduced tank irrigation, distributed land to temples and brahmanas, and were made "defenders of a bastion" of the fort at Madurai", until the invasions of the Wodaiyar forces and the raids of Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan, Yusuf Khan, and the arrival of an English Collector. Within this conventionalized construct it is possible to discern several strategies designed to acquire land and control over its resources, the process of legitimation of a warrior lineage, the expansion of cadet lines, which resulted in the setting up of new *pāḷaiyams*, and the linkages which the *pāḷaiyakārans* established with the wider world of south Indian politics. In short, they are documents detailing the history of warrior lineages of northern (vadugu) origin transforming their initial "zones of influence", which had as their centers an armed camp (palayam) into chiefdoms, where the initial centers of settlement were the samaśthānams where decisions relating to management of local resources were taken.

Based on a study of three Kambalattar *vamśāvaḷis*, it is possible to trade the process of transformation, and develop a typology that provides the analytic to study the transition of a *pāḷaiyam*, from a fortified settlement into a chiefdom linked to the nayaka state of Madurai. The three *pāḷaiyams*—Verupakshi, Rettaimyampadi and Nellakottai—have been chosen because all of them emreged from a set of three brothers belonging to the Pannasaivallakar Gothram,[35] and hence the history of those palaiyams afford insight into the process of "fission and fusion", taking place within

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the lineage. The origin story of all three are identical, and a comparative study of three *vamśāvalis* may indicate processes of locality politics and control.

The history of the *pāḷaiyams*, as preserved in the *vamśāvaḷis*, may be divided into three phases, each of which was punctuated with reference to an external source of political authority.[36] These are :

Phase I : The history of this phase is mainly concerned with the Kambaḷattars prior to their migration to the Vijayanagara territory.

The external source : Mughul Court.

Phase II : This phase deals with the history of the lineage from the time it settled in Annaigundi till its migration to the Tamil country.

The external source : Vijayanagara king.

Phase III : This phase is dominated by two themes; settlement and legitimation Irrigation works undertaken and new settlements are formed. The *pāḷaiyam* and its lineage is accorded recognition by the Madurai Nayaka by the grant of appropriate insignia of royalty and by the symbolic incorporation into the political orbit of the Madurai state through the investiture of the title—*Kumāravarakkam.*

The external source : The Madurai State.

The Kambalattar origin stories preserved in the *Mackenzie Collection*, with few minor differences, preserve identical myths—a putative settlement in Delhi, the infactuation of a Mughul emperor for a Kambalattar girl, a sudden fight, the crossing of a river with the divine intercession of the *kuladēvata*, and the arrival of the clans at the court of the Vijayanagara king. A typical origin story is reproduced below :[37]

> In days bygone, our ancestors were settled in the northern country, in a place known as Ambe Virupākshi. The Mughul Emperor, who was ruling from Delhi, chanced to see a girl from our community, and expressed a desire to marry her. Our ancestors refused, saying that it was wrong on the part of the Emperor, who was aware of our customs, to make such demands. Upon hearing this reply, the angered emperor replied, that if persuasion failed, he would use force. Though our forebears were sardars at the Mughul court, they were in no position to fight the emperor, so the same night they left along with their kinsmen, relatives and retainers left Delhi and proceeded towards the southern country. On the way they encountered a river which was flowing in full spate. The party of horesmen sent by the Delhi Badsha was closing in on them. At this juncture, the entire clan prayed to our *kuladēvata*. Then a miracle happened. The *puṅga* tree which were growing on both banks of the river bent down to form a bridge, enabling them to cross over to the opposite bank. The emperor's men could not persue them because the *puṅga* trees resumed their original position. Even since we worship the *puṅga* maram, and all marriage

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in our community are performed under a canopy made of *puṅga* leaves. We continued our march and eventually reached Annaigundi, near Hampe in the Raya's *samasthanam*, and they met the Raya and told him their story. The Raya honoured them, and gave them titles and the right to settle in his kingdom.

This origin myth is prefaced to all Kambaḷattār genealogies. The migration from the north, if it did take place at all, could have only taken place during the early fourteenth century, when the sultanate was being consolidated in the Gangetic basin, under the energetic rulers of the Khilji and Tugluq dynasties, which was accompanied by as, Baraṇi gleefully points out to the displacement of large numbers of Hindus.

The origin myth appended to the genealogies serves a function which may be explained by analyzing the significant elements in it. First, is the claim to political status, which is seen in the reference to the ancestors being *sardars* (headmen) "Mughul" court. This is the first claim in a series of claims, where political status is affirmed with reference to a superior authority. Second, is the reference to the endogamous prevailing amongst the *kambaḷattars*. The flight from Delhi is caused, by what was perceived to be a threat to the integrity of kin relations, and coming as it did from a source traditionally associated with the preservation of social harmony, it could not only be resolved through the removal of that threat. The flight from the north is indicative of a shift in loyalty; with geographical relocation, political loyalties change, and the "flight" dramatizes this. Finally, is the episode of the river and the *kuladēvata*. The river is the metaphor for the frontier between "freedom" and "captivity". The party of pursuing horsemen cannot cross over to the other side because they do not have access to that grace, which leads to "freedom". Hence, only the Kambaḷattārs cross over, to the opposite bank, where again political relations have to be established and claims affirmed.

This myth so zealously preserved and transmitted for over three centuries was a vital component of the *pāḷaiyakāraṇ's* claim to legitimate chiefly authority. A comparative study with an African state, where similar myths existed help in determining the function of myth in traditional political systems. Edgar Winans has studied the "royal myths" of the Shambala in East Africa.[38] He writes, "the traditions of the arrival of the founder and the genealogies associated with it offer a charter for the authority of the royal clan and also provide a channel of authority within the Shambala state".[39] The royal myths of the Shambala were "pragmatic charters" as they served to perpetuate the dichotomy between chiefly lineage and the common mass of people.[40] In the little realm of a Kambalattar *pāḷaiyakāraṇ* the function was the same. On the one hand the myth as a charter of legitimation perpetuates the notion that the lineage controlling the *pāḷaiyam* was in a sense extraordinary due to the favour granted by the *kuladēvata*, on the other hand, it communicates to the non-chiefly groups that the ruling lineage had always enjoyed superior political status, which is judiciously expressed through the very particular royal emblems, bestowed upon a

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distant ancestor by a "powerful" king. The idea inherent in this scheme is that charisma associated with leadership is restricted to the lineage and is transmitted through succession. As a powerful social charter, the myth served to identify the lineage controlling the *pāḷaiyam* in the mixed population of Tamils, Telugu, Kannadigas and from the early seventeenth century Maharattas, which inhabited the *pāḷaiyam*. The idea inherent in this myth, as with other myths expressed in the *vamśāvaḷis*, is that throughout a succession of events—wars, temple dedication, succession disputes, family intrigue, prestations—there remains one permanent feature—the myth itself. The origin myths of the *pāḷaiyam* served, as did the genealogy itself, to locate the ruling *pāḷaiyakaran* in an ordered and legitimate succession table, thus providing him with a "pragmatic charter" to justify his claim to chiefly status, and the exercise of legitimate power within his domain. The key idiom in the expression of legitimate claims is the reference to superior political centres.

The second phase in migration myths of the Kambalattar *pāḷaiyakāran* begins with the arrival of the displaced clan at the Court of the Vijayanagara raya. The major episode recorded in the genealogies is a battle with the Mughul forces in which an ancestor of the *pāḷaiyakaraṇ* distinguished himself by exibiting great military prowess, loyalty and daring. The *vamśāvaḷi* of the *pāḷaiyakaran* of Nellakottai, records this episode thus :[41]

> In the days long before my time, when the forces of the Mughul Emperor invaded the territory of the Raya, the king called all the Kambaḷattārs and placed a red dress before them, and addressed them these words :
>
> > Those of you who do not love your wives, and those of you who do not love your children can wear this red dress, and taking the honor of the bettle leaf, can depart for the battle field.
>
> My forebears—Kullappa Nāyaka and Makkala Nāyaka—had the honour of being in that campaign and distinguished themselves by their valor, which brought them to the notice of his superior, who spoke highly of them to the raya. The rāya was very pleased and honored them with the following : white horse, a white parasol, white and green flags, two white fleece sticks.
>
> After a while there was a war beween the Chola and the Pandyan king. The Pandyan king sought the help of the raya to get back his throne which the Chōḷa king had seized. The raya sent Nāgama Nāyaka to help the Pāṇḍyan king. My ancestors were among those who accompanied Nāgama Nāyaka. In the battle that followed the Chōḷa king was defeated. My forebears wanted Nāgama Nāyaka to return to the *rayarsamasthānam*. He refused saying that since he acquired the throne by conquest, he has the right to occupy it. Nāgama Nāyaka asked them to return, if they so desired. When the raya heard of Nāgamā Nāyakas disloyal conduct, he was extremely enraged. He was however, pleased with my ancestors for having conveyed the news of Nāgama

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Nāyaka's disloyal conduct. The raya sent Vishvanātha Nāyaka—Nāgama Nāyaka's only son—to capture his father, and bring him before him. Vishvanatha Nāyaka carried out his orders; he waged war on his father, captured him, and brought him to Hampe. The raya ordered Nāgama Nāyaka to be beheaded. Once again, Vishvanātha Nāyaka was ready to obey the raya's orders, and drew his sword. The raya, seeing the loyalty of Vishvanātha, pardoned his father, and appointed him (Vishvanātha Nāyaka), "king of the Pāṇḍyan throne". My anscestors were recommended very highly to Vishvanātha Nāyaka, for their bravery, loyalty, and steadfastness of purpose. The raya asked Vishvanātha Nāyaka to take my ancestors with him, and utilize their services appropriately. My ancestors claimed that their *kuladēvata* had appeared in a dream, and told them to settle near Palani Hills. Vishvanātha Nāyaka gave them his permission to settle there.

The events recorded in this sequence of the Kambalattar *vamśāvaḷi* consists of three episodes, which are :

1. the battle with the Mughul army
2. the disloyalty of Nāgama Nāyaka
3. the migration to the Tamil country.

Each of these episodes provides the context for the affirmation of the Kambalattar clans loyalty to the Vijayanagara state. The linkages of the Kambaḷattārs with the Vijayanagara state, tenuous in the first episode becomes progressively more and more intricate. In the first episode, the ancestors are brought to the notice of the raya, by an intermediary; in the last sequence the raya himself recommends them to the Nāyaka of Madurai. In these acts of heroism, the particular idiom of expressing chiefly ideology may be discerned : the raya as the giver of titles and emblems;[42] the performer of heroic deeds rewarded by titles and emblems. Political relations were constituted through exchanges; in the passage cited above, heroic deeds were exchanged for titles and emblems. The conferment of such emblems constituted the recognition accorded by a center of ritual and sacral authority to the claims of the *pāḷaiyakāraṇ's* family to a political status. In the fragmented, dynamic and fluid nature of political relations existing in medieval Tamil Nadu, the constant articulation of political affiliation with reference to a ritual center was made possible by such exchanges, as the lengthy passage quoted above shows.[43] In this sequence, each exchange is followed by an advance in political status; from displaced refugees to loyal warriors, as a consequence of a battle with the Mughul forces. Again, the loyalty with reference to the Vijayanagara raya was further articulated by the contrast drawn with the disloyal conduct of Nāgama Nāyaka.

The *vamśāvaḷi* studied in this chapter has faithfully adhered to the theme indicated : as a "pragmatic charter" it presents in a structured sequence of events the

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passage of a family, from a nebulous position at the Vijayanagara Court to the position of dominance in the Tamil country. The events preserved in the *vamśāvaḷi* were selected due to the results they yield. Only those events were thought worthy of record which constituted political relations with a dominant authority and it is for this reason is the term "pragmatic charter" appropriate. The *vamśāvaḷis* are charters that legitimize the present circumstances in the same way the royal myths of the Shambala legitimized chiefly authority. The words of Winans are apt in the context of the South Indian *pāḷaiyam* and its history, "within this body of history are the precedents for present action, the guidelines for the flow of authority and the explanation of current relations".[44]

The political culture of a palaiyam

The distribution of Telugu (Kambalattar) *pāḷaiyams* in the Madurai/Dindigul country, was heaviest in the flat country stretching between the Andipatti Hills to the rocky propinquitous terrain around Dindigul. The location of Telugu *pāḷaiyams* in this stretch of territory can be explained in terms of the geographical features of this tract : the most favored area of settlement were those parts where black cotton soil was found.[45] The Mackenzie Collection contains a number of Telugu *vamśāvaḷis*, which credit the migrant settlers with the introduction of settled agriculture in the black soil belt, which stretched from Madurai to the Baramahal region in Koṅgumaṇḍalam. In the Madurai/Dindigul country, where the *pāḷaiyams* of Virupakshi, Rettaimpadi and Nellakotai were located, the taluqus, Tirumangalam, Palani and Periyakulam are the ones where we final large number of Telugu *pāḷaiyams*, and in these taluqus black soil or rigor soil is found. The initial choice of settlement was determined by the geography of the terrain. From this zone of marginal agriculture Telugu warrior control gradually expanded, and by the end of the seventeenth century, Telugu *pālaiyakāraṇs* may be seen interacting with major political and religious personages of Tamil Nadu.

The *Mackenzie Collection* gives evidence of the continuing, though at times, challenged, dominance of Telugu *pāḷaiyakāraṇs* in this marginal, perepheral zone. Telugu warrior control may be explained in part by the technology of small scale tank irrigation, which they introduced in the Madurai/Dindigul tract. The *vamśāvaḷis* of the *pālaiyakāraṇs* of Virupatchi, Rettaimpadi and Nellakottai make repeated mention of the excavation of tanks, and channels from the rivers Vaigai and its many tributaries.[46] In the Madurai/Dindigul region, *pāḷaiyams* evolved around a nucleus of localized irrigation system, and it is this factor which explains the heavy concentration of *pāḷaiyams* under Telugu control in this tract. The large *pāḷaiyāms*—Bodinayakkanur, Periyakulam and Palani—were situated in the sheltered reaches of the Kodaiyakanal Hills, away from the political centre—Madurai. The expansion of an *pāḷaiyam* into a "little kingdom" was inhibited by the fact that water resources imposed a severe restraint on predatory expansion.

The settlement of a Kambaḷattar lineage was accompanied by the segmentation of a large group into smalled bands, each headed by a brother of the head of the

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lineage. This process is indicated in the *vamśāvaḷi* or Virupatchi.[47] According to this genealogy the *pālaiyakāraṇ*, Tirumala Cinnappa Nāyaka, received the right to settle in the Palani area from the Vijayanagara raya in the late fourteenth century (A.D. 1481). The genealogy records that Tirumala Cinnappa Nayaka sent his brothers to set up *pāḷaiyams* in Thauthanpaṭṭai and Yeddiakōṭṭi. Settlement of Telugu warriors, was thus, accompanied by segmentation of the original settling group, which resulted in fresh area being opened up to Telugu control. Evidence of this process of segmentation is found in the *vamśāvaḷis* of the *pāḷaiyakārans* of Rettaimpadi[48] and Nellakottai.[49] Telugu warrior control and its expansion was accompanied by the displacement of the puliyars, who inhabited the area.

The *vamśāvalis* do not give any indication of the area covered by a *pālaiyam*. Wherever geographical boundries are given they are vague and imprecise. In its extent a *pāḷaiyam* did not normally exceed 200 or 250 square miles, as can be computed on the basis of the accompanying table.[50] They were small, densely populated settlements controlled by Telugu lineages, which often maintained social and ritual links with far off places as Tinnevelly, Tanjavur and Tirupati. In its internal structure a *pāḷaiyam* was a complex institution which nested on several distinct levels of social and political leadership : *nattannai* for the veḷḷāḷars, *amaras* and Shaingars for the Telugu Kambalattars.[51] The *pāḷaiyams* was more than a term for cognitive space, it indicates the constituents with which a *pālaiyakaran* interacted.

The *vamśāvali* of the *pāḷaiyakārans* of Virupātchi is the most elaborate of Kambaḷattār genealogies, and contains evidence of the process of legitimation which took place within a *pāḷaiyam*. In the first phase of the *pāḷaiyams* history, covering three generations, the major strategy employed was the constitution of economic and ties with the dispersed settlements in the *pāḷaiyam*. In the *vamśāvaḷi* this strategy is elegantly phased as, "this particular nayaka, cleared the forests, excavated tanks, built and established a great number of temples, and gave lands as maniyams to the brahmanas". The investement in tanks, built with the labor of the underlying population consisting of both Tamils and Telugus, represented the extension on Telugu control, as it was under Kambaḷattār initiative that dry agriculture was made possible in the area. Alongside with the excavation of tanks, the integration of scattered settlements into the *pāḷaiyam* was made possible by the transformation of *nāṭṭaṇmai*, the headmen of Veḷḷāḷḷars, into cervaikkarars, which was achieved by the expansion of cadet lines and its colonization of forest land. Cervaikkarars were the leading men of the settlements which accepted nayaka control.[52]

Economic and ritual ties within a *pāḷaiyakāran's* domain were instituted through temples dedicated to the tutelary deities of the Kambalattars. In the *vamśāvaḷis* the building temples by the *pāḷaiyakārans* is usually phrased in the form of a dream where is the deity reveals Himself to the nayaka and directs him to build a temple at a particular spot. The ritual integration of the entire Kambaḷattār population to the temple of the *pālaiyakāran's* tutelary deity was achieved by making it the temple for the rites of passage. In the *vamśāvaḷi* of the *pāḷaiyakāran* of Virupakshi the temple

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of Leguamman, a Vaishnavite temple, is mandated by the *pāḷaiyakāran* as the site where the three major ceremonies of the Kambaḷattārs—ear boring, tonsure and *namakarma*—need be performed.[53] The association of this temple with the *pāḷaiyakaran's kuladēvata* reinforces the point that ritual incorporation was achieved through temples. In the *pāḷaiyams* temples were the institutions which functioned as the binding thread between Telugu warriors and the subdued population. The political motive for the construction of temples in such large numbers as the *vamśāvalis* record may be viewed as attempts to enhance local prestige and dominance, by providing limited access to such temples.[54] The performance of *puja* in such temples was financed by the resources of the *pāḷaiyakāran* in the form of land, which was gifted to the temple, from whose income worship was financed.

The construction of temples and the institution of worship in them provided the basis for the claim made in the *vamśāvaḷis* that the, "*pāḷaiyākaran* ruled with *dana* and *dharma*".[55]

The *pāḷaiyams* are best seen as focal points of locality politics and centres where decisions relating to land and its resources were taken. Extensive kinship ties linked the widely dispersed Kambaḷattār *pāḷaiyams* into a social arena. What transformed the *pāḷaiyakārans* from lineage personalities to chieftains, was the formal recognition accorded by the Madurai Nayaka state. The grant of the title of—Kumaravarkkam—is universally projected in the *vamśāvalis* as a critical turning point.[56] The palaiyakarans entry into this "order of princes" is given in the Kambaḷattār *vamśāvalis* as taking place at the mediation of a Veḷḷāḷar-Ariyanatha Mudaliar. The linkage of the *pālaiyākarans* with the Madurai state may be explained with reference to the *vamśāvalis* which affirm status in relation to a superior body. Further, the *pāḷaiyams* of the Madurai/Dindigul area were situated in an ecological zone which made for marginal productivity hence the need to establish and maintain ties with the reverine areas of the Tāmbaraparini.

V

Conclusion

This paper has traced the career of a Vaduga Pāḷaiyakāraṇ's lineage, from its obscure origin in the fourteenth century till its integration into the Nayaka kingdom of Madurai. The evidence used in this study was entirely culled from the genealogical records of the *pāḷaiyam* which as shown in this chapter can be used for the reconstruction of political relations at the level of the locality. The *vamśāvaḷis* have been shown to be charters of legitimate claims, and were instruments of chiefly power articulation. The method used for the study of genealogical records was derived from comparative political anthropology.

The constant interaction between the palaiyakaran and the political nexus of the Madurai nayakas was the result of geographical situation of the *pāḷaiyams* in zones of marginal agricultural productivity.

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The *pāḷaiyams* as stable loci of local power until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the rising power of the sultans of Mysore—Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan —threatened such power systems with extinction. This is part of a larger study which would subject Maravan and Gaundar Genealogies to a similar method of inquiry.

The emergence of *pāḷaiyams* as both centres of local authority and as centres where decisions relating to the management of local resources were taken, is symptomatic of changes in the pattern of power relations at the locality level. It signified a change from the nadu as the basic building block of the agrarian structure, to a system which facilitated the incorporation of distinct groups of non-Tamil—Telugu and Kannada speakers—into the political framework. The *pāḷaiyam* of the Vijayanagara period differed from the nadu in two vital respects. The *pailyam* was primarily a fortified position which doubled as a focal point of local power because of the superior coercive capability of the lineage controlling it. A second area of difference may be noted; the nadu of Chola time was also the theatre of a territorially segmented society constituting a preferential field of marrige and kinship alliances, while a *pāḷaiyam* was controlled by a warrior lineage, and horizontal linkages between *pāḷaiyams* was established through affinal ties or a putative genealogical connection. In the nadu of Chola times, local leadership was anonymous, and generally masked by the title *muvēndavēḷār* (a veḷḷāḷar was served under three kings), and the dominant peasantry (nattar) accorded collective primacy; in a *pāḷaiyam* it was a "big man" and his lineage that can be identified as powerful rural and political magnates.

Table I

Source : *Description of certain Pollams in Dindigul District*, a Report submitted by the Collector J.H. Wynch to the Board of Revenue at Fort Saint George A.D. 1795 Tamil Nadu Archives, ASO(D) 232.

Name of Palaiyam	*No. of settlements*	*Land held inclusive chay and punjay*
1	2	3
Kombai	5 villages	5470 kullis of land
Tevaram	1 village	5200 kullis of land
Erisanayakkanur	N.A.	1625 kullis of land
Guntinayakkanur	9 villages	38,940 kullis of land
Bodhinayakkanur	30 villages	51,920 kullis of land
Tottianykottai	9 villages	1,300 kullis of land

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1	2	3
Nillakottai	8 villages	18,950 kullis of land
Vadugurray	N.A.	8,900 kullis of land
Devadanapatti	7 villages	12,590 kullis of land
Manberra	4 villages	1566 kullis of land
Palani	6 villages	N.A.
Ayakkudi	2 villages	N.A.
Pollam	4 villages	1650 kullis of land
Virupatchi	16 villages	32,560 kullis of land
Kanniyavaudi	14 villages	37,833 kullis of land
Marnut	12 villages	N.A.
Madur	2 villages	N.A.
Chokampatti	N.A.	N.A.
Eriyadu	12 villages	39 kullis of land
Pulipachaiyakanur	N.A.	N.A.
Yerrakottai	7 villages	7658 kullis of land
Amunayakkanur	8 villages	25,844 kullis of land
Amuthera	3 villages	3,570 kullis of land
Tavasimedu	1 village	288 kullis of land
Yemakalapuram	4 villages	2293 kullis of land

Notes and References

1. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 395 (Hereafter cited as PSSMSI).
2. The phase in Malinowski's, quoted by Edgar V. Winans in *Shambala : The Constitution of a Traditional State*, (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 22.
3. In the *Collection* preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras there is a document entitled Mackenzie Durai in Ke'vikal. I am indebted to M. Rajendran, for bringing this document to my attention.
4. N. Venkataramannaya, *Studies in the History of the Third dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras : University Press, 1935), p. 22-36.
5. Sathyanatha Aiyer, *The History of the Nayakas of Madurai*, (Madras : University Press, 1980 (reprint), pp. 20-23.
6. Burton Stein, *PSSMSI*, pp. 366-488.
7. Nicholas Dirks, "The Pasts of a Palaiyakarar : The Ethnohistory of a South Indian Little King" in *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 655-83.

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8. A. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagara.* (Annamalai's University Press, 1964).
9. Bishap R. Caldwell, *A History of Tinnevelly* (reprinted 1982), p. 55.
10. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, (Madras : Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 21.
11. Quoted in, Colin Mackenzie : *The First Surveyor General of India* by W.C. Mackenzie, London, 1964, p. 211.
12. Stein, *PSSMSI*, pp. 254-365.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 274.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 274-75.
15. Marshall Sahlins, Stone Age Economics, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974), p. 188.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-193.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
19. Stein, *PSSMSI*, pp. 371-415.
20. The texts cited here are found in *Palaiyapattukkalin* Varalarru-Thokuti-II (Madras : Department of Archaeology 1980). These Mss. are filed as under in the *Mackenzie Collection* : D. 3844, and D. 3259, and D. 3161 respectively.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* Vol. VII reprinted Delhi, 1975, p. 187.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 188-90.
25. K. Rajayyam, *South India Rebellion* : *The First War of Independence*, 1800-1801 (Mysore : Rao and Raghavan, 1971) p. 22. Though based on extensive research, this work presents a highly romantisized view of the Tamil past, but is quite representative of the scholarship in this field written from a parochial point of view.
26. Letter to The BOR in Fort St. George, in *Extracts from The Old Bellary Records*, ASO(D) 312 T.N.A.
27. Letter to The BOR, *ibid.*
28. Nicholas Dirks, "The past of a Palaiyakarar", p. 656.
29. Burton Stein, *Cambridge Economic History of India* (ed.) Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, (London : Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 104.
30. Burton Stein, 1982, pp. 205.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
32. The *Vamśāvalis* begin with the stock phrase that they were composed at the order of Colin Mackenzie, hence they can be assigned to the early 19th century.
33. Marc Bloch, *French Rural History* (Berkley : California University Press, 1973) Introduction p. XXXIII.
34. This concept is explained in Edgar's V. Winans, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-93.
35. *Mackenzie Collection*, D. 3125.
36. This division was in part inspired by Brian Murton's Paper, "Territorial and Resource Structure of Tamil Villages in 1800 : Implications for Settlement Evolution" in *Proceedings of the International Geographical Union Regional Conference of 1974.*
37. *Mackenzie Collection*, D. 3259.
38. Edgar Winans, *Shambala* : *The Constitution of Traditional State*, pp. 76-93.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
41. *Mackenzie Collection*, D. 3161.
42. Burton Stein, PSSMSI, d. 386.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
44. Edgar Winans, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
45. Nelson, *The Madura Country.*

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46. *Mackenzie Collection*, D. 3161, D. 3259.
47. *Ibid.*, D. 3259.
48. *Ibid.*, D. 3256.
49. *Ibid.*, D. 3161.
50. Table I. p. 35.
51. *Mackenzie Collection*, D. 3259.
52. This term is found in the *Vaṁśavali* of the *Palaiyakaran* of Virupatchi, *Mackenzie Collection*, D. 3259.
53. *Mackenzie Collection*, D. 3259.
54. Burton Stein, *South Indian Temples*; (Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1977), p. 44.
55. *Mackenzie Collection*, D. 3259, D. 3161.
56. All the *Vaṁśāvalis* consulted project this feature relating to the interaction with the nayaka state of Madurai.

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45

KURA COINS FROM KEREHALLI—A NOTE

H.R. Raghunath Bhat*

Ancient coins, like the epigraphs of the period, enable us to draw but a broken history of the issuing dynasty or king. The study of the Kura coins is of significance in view of the extremely rare numismatic evidence in Karnataka particularly Banavāsi region. An attempt is made here to review a coin type of Gautamiputra Viḷivāya Kura from Kerehaḷḷi for the first time.

During my recent exploration work in the Honnuguḍḍa site near Kerehaḷḷi about twenty one kilometres to the north of Soraba in Shimoga district, a few coins of the Kura and Sātavāhana dynasties along with the contemporary pottery, beads and brick-foundations were found on a hillock.[1] These antiquities and the very nature of the mounds indicate the human habitation in the early historic period. Incidentally it may be pointed out here that Honnuguḍḍa site on the bank of the river Varada is not far away from Banavāsi which has yielded similar antiquities of the Sātavāhana period, except the Kura coins.

The Kura coins from Kerehaḷḷi are of lead and near circular in shape with a diameter of about 2.1 cm and thickness of about 0.3 cm. The weight is 3.67 gms.[2] The workmanship, mint condition, and technical accuracy of the coins are not so perfect as those of Roman coins found at Akki Āḷūr in Hāngal taluk.[3] But these Kura coins represent the indigenous coins of the area. One of the representative coins may be described as follows (See Plate I) :

Obverse : Bow with arrow ready for shooting, pointing to the right side. Around this central figure is found one lined (fifteen letterred) legend embossed in a circular from.

Legend : Raño Gōtamiputasa Viḷivāyakurasa

"(Coin of) King Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura." The coin-legend is essentially in Prākrit dialect without any peculiarities. The verbal forms are mostly those which are found in the contemporary inscriptions.

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Script : The legend is embossed in the characters of southern Brāhmi of the early Christian era (about second century A.D.). The top-*mātrā* or *serif* is not exactly triangular or nail-headed though some of the indications are discernible. The difference in incising the letters on stone surface and embossing the same on relatively soft lead coin surface should also be borne in mind.

Reverse : Five leafy-branched Aśvattha (*pipal*) tree standing erect in the centre of the rectangular railing of eight squares occupies the major portion of the coin surface. Two decorative foilages with outward bent (sprouts ?) are depicted on either side of the tree. This design adds to the symmetry of the composition. To the left side of the tree, at a close interval, is depicted a six arched hill or *chaitya* in three tiers (bottom — three arches, second tier — two arches and top — big arch). This is not only stylised but essentially symbolic. At the bottom of both the railing and the *chaitya* or hill symbol is shown in between the two near parallel lines a wavy line without dots in the inter space. The geometrical angularity of the wavy line is specially noteworthy.

Symbols : There are four symbols on the coins :

1. (Obv.) Bow and arrow,
2. (Rev.) Aśvattha tree within the railing,
3. Six arched mountain or *chaitya* symbol,
4. River symbol in between the parallel lines.

All these symbols belong to the indigenous folk tradition and hence may be interpreted within this context. They are mostly idealised or stylised representations. They may be described as follows :

1. *Bow and arrow* : This is a *prayoga dhanus* facing to the right side. The tip of the arrow is not only pointed and sharp but triangularly shaped. Bow and arrow stand for energy. This is the symbol of God's or royal power represented separately on the obverse of the coin along with the legend.

2. *Tree in the railing* : This is a conventionalised or stylised Aśvattha tree in railing with five leafy branches spread over symmetrically on either side of the tree. This is one of the most prominent devices adopted in the early indigenous coinage. This may represent the *sthaḷa vriksha* or *chaitya vriksha*. The tree specially Aśvattha has been an object of worship since a long time as evidenced by the Purāṇas and the sculptural representations. This characterises the worship of tree-cult interwoven with the religious belief of the people. It stands also for inexhaustible life. This symbol is also related to other symbols like mountain.

3. *Six arched hill symbol* : This is one of the variously represented symbols on indigenous coins. The symbol of mountain and its sanctity commanded the respect of the people from the beginning. This indicates an attempt on the part of man to memorise his original abode on hill and hence its religious significance.

Interestingly enough the peaks of the mountain are symbolically represented as

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arches one above the other and hence this is also called the *chaitya* with Buddhist meaning by some scholars.[4]

4. *River/Water* : This is an ambivalent symbol since it corresponds to the creative power both of nature and time. The wavy line as a symbol of water represents essentially the surface of the water. It symbolises the universal congress of potentialities and hence it is shown significantly at the bottom of the tree and mountain symbols.

Aesthetic Value : The Kura coin is not known for its artistry. But still the stylised figures (in relief) of bow-arrow, tree in railing, mountain and river are boldly depicted. We find an element of folk style in design and execution. The material (lead) and its continuous handling or use were responsible for loosing the sharpness of the figures on the coin.

Importance of the Kerehaḷḷi Kura coins

That the Kura king Gautamiputra Viḷivāya Kura belongs to an independent line of early kings is convincingly established now. With the discovery of Kura coins in Honnuguḍḍa (Kerehaḷḷi) in the Banavāsi region, in addition to the same in Chitradurga area,[5] the reconstruction of the history of the Kura king has been made possible.

The Kerehaḷḷi coin type is slightly different from the type discovered in Kolhāpur and Chitradurga areas.[6] In the Kolhāpur type is noticed on the obverse, the bow with string downwards fitted with arrow pointing upwards. But the Kerehaḷḷi type has the bow with string in profile, arrow pointing to the right side. Most of the Kolhāpur Kura coins have ten small arched hill whereas Kerehaḷḷi type has six arched high mountain symbol. Unlike the Kolhāpur type Kerehaḷḷi coin has the *aśvattha* tree in railing to the right side of the hill and it has two outward bent foliages on either side. The whole composition is more or less akin to the local Chuṭu coins in this respect.

The Kura coins are distinguishable from the Sātavāhana coins by their types and symbols, as evidenced at Kerehaḷḷi. The Chuṭu coins of Chuṭu-kulānanda, Muḍānanda and Sivalānanda noticed in Banavāsi and Kura coins at Kerehaḷḷi near Banavāsi obviously dominate and hence it may be presumed that they held control over this region in the early historic period. They are also closely related to the Sātavāhana coins. They may have continued in circulation in Banavāsi region even after the region was occupied by the Sātavāhanas. Subsequent coinage of the area appears to be indebted to these coins in so far as various devices noticed on the coins. It is clear from this numismatic evidence that a number of lead coins were in circulation in Kerehaḷḷi Banavāsi region in the early historic period. These must also have played an important role in regional economy of the period; for the coinage of ancient period is interwoven with the socio-economic history of the region.

A word about the issuing king of the Kerehaḷḷi coins : Gautamīputra Viḷivāya Kura is represented as the third king in the series of three Kura kings as evidenced by the Kolhāpur coins.[7] The regal title "Raño" figures here before the name of the Kura king mentioned along with his matronymics Gōtamīputa-Gautamīputra. This

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is one of the usual expressions of the period. It may find its original explanation in the local custom.

The name of the king Viḷivāya and the family name Kura have been variously explained. Viḷivāya is the personal name. But its meaning is not clear. The term 'Viḷivakaro' means a basket-maker in Pāli.[8] If we accept this meaning in association with the Kura king Viḷivāya, the personal name seems to be derived from one of the intermediary castes (basket-maker) based originally on the occupation of basket-making. The term Kura appearing at the end of the personal name is taken to be identical with Kula. But M. Rama Rao inclined to take this expression to mean the name of the family.[9] It appears to be convincing in this context. It may be mentioned here incidentally that Kuru was the first progenitor of the Pāṇḍavas belonging to the lunar race. The name of the country Kura dēśa and the name of the family Kuru vaṁśa is given after this person.

Gautamīputra Viḷivāya Kura seems to have succeeded Mādharīputra Sivalakura. He must have had a fairly long reign judging from the number of coins noticed along with Sātavāhana coins. It is therefore possible that in his reign period the Sātavāhanas defeated him and became the masters of the Banavāsi region. No Kura king was known (so far) after Gautamīputra Viḷivāya Kura. It may therefore be presumed further that after his death or defeat, the imperial Sātavāhanas ruled the area.

Notes and References

1. Some of the coins and other antiquities have been collected by Sri Gurunatha Puttu Bhat, Chandragutti who has great fascination in the explorations in Honnuguḍḍa and Sri Gurunatha Gowda who is a coin-collector. I am really thankful to them. My thanks are also due to Sri Rajashekhara and Mohana G. Hegde and Sivappa Gowda of Basur who helped me in my explorations.
2. I am thankful to Dr. Ambeker of the P.G. Department of Chemistry for his help in verifying the weight of these coins in his laboratory.
3. See Nagaraja Rao, M.S. (ed.), *Progress of Archaeology in Karnataka*, Mysore, 1972, p. 45.
4. See Bhaskar Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Icons—A study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art*, Calcutta, 1977, p. 35.
5. See *EC.*, X, Bangalore, 1929; *IA.*, IV, pl. XXIII.
6. Cf. *Lalithakala*, Vol. VII (1960).
7. See Bhaskara Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*; *Lalitkala*, *op. cit.*
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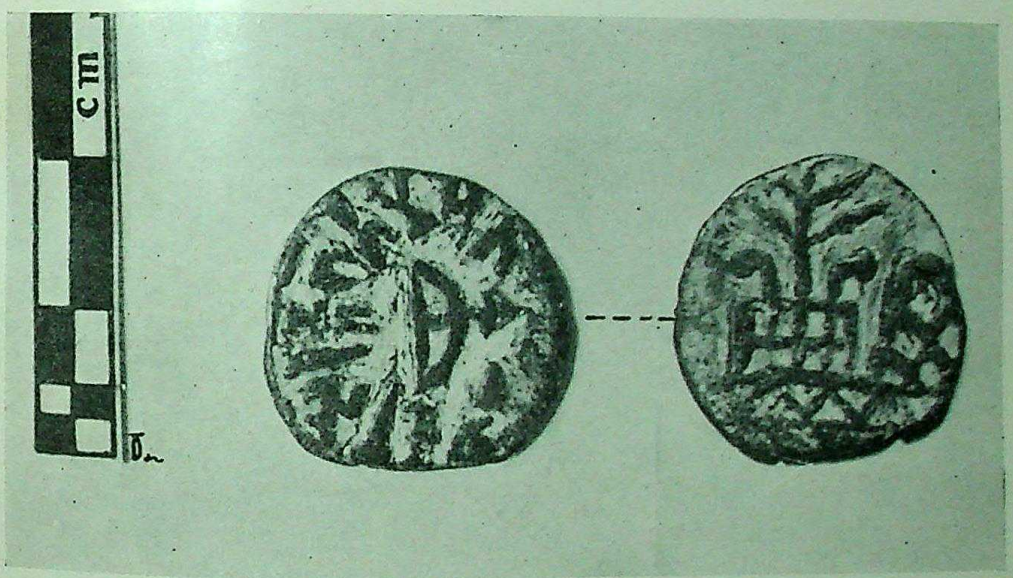

Lead coins of king Gautamiputra V(I) Vayakura

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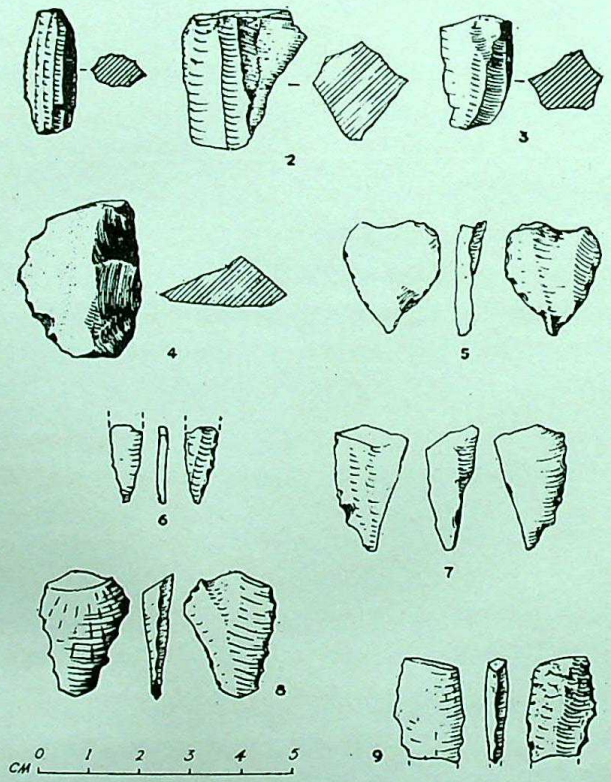

Fig. 1 *Bairat* : Cotes and Tools

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PREHISTORIC REMAINS OF THE BAIRAT VALLEY

R.P. Sharma, C. Margabandhu and B.P. Saxena*

Bairat or Viratnagar (27° 27′ N. 76° 12′ E) an ancient capital town of Matsya-desa and presently a tehsil headquarter of Jaipur district is situated nearly 220 km. south of Delhi. This rural township stands in the midst of the valley measuring 8 km. from east to west, and 6 km. from north to south (pl. I).

The Aravalli hills in the districts of Alwar, and Jaipur of Rajasthan, Gurgaon of Haryana, and Delhi belong to the Delhi System, which is contemporary to the Cuddapah system of south India. Delhi system is a *geosynclinical facies*. Its stratigraphy from bottom to top is as follows:

1. The Arenaceous Alwar Series: It comprises of quartzites, green stones, and, conglomerates at the base.
2. Kushalgarh Series: This series is dying out in this area, and is being replaced by slates, similar to the Ajabgarh series.
3. Horn-stone Breccia consisting of grey quartzites of all sizes embedded in a granular matrix with intestitial limonite. Pieces of slates are also contained in it.
4. Ajabgarh argillaceous series: These consist of shales, silvery phyllites, mica, schist with subordinate bands of siliceous limestone, ferruginous quartzites, and, calcaeous slates. The phyllites, staurolite, chiasolite and small garnets are locally available at places along with slates, black to rusty brown in colour.

The encircling hills of Bairat Valley locally known as Bijak-ka-Pahad (west), Bhim-ki-Dungri (north), Mahadeva-ki-Dungri (south) and Ganesh-Dungri (east) belong to Ajabgarh series of the Delhi System as the rocks comprise of slates, phyllites, quartzites, and, metamorphosed limestone. In these hills there is intrusion of granitic rocks of friable nature with thick veins of felspar, chert, jasper, and agate (pl. II).

*Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

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The valley forms the shape of a trough with a general slope converging in the centre of the valley.

Two streams locally known as 'Bairatnala, and 'Bandrolnala' irrigate the valley. The former flows northwards and the latter, flows west to east, which is also known as 'Dopat' which may be a corruption of Draupada, an early king of Matsya Janapada.

The historicity of Bairat goes back as early as the incidents of Mahabharata. Draupadi, the daughter of the king Draupada of Bairat was married to the Pandava princes.[1]

The material remains of the historical period date back to the late phase of Painted Grey Ware.[2] A large quantity of iron slags were also found showing early workings in iron technology. The finds of the Mauryan period are represented by Asokan Rock Edicts, the circular Buddhist temple, residential compartment of the monks, Punch marked coins and Northern Black Polished Ware.[3] The Greek and Indo-Greek coins were also reported from Bairat.[4]

The prehistoric investigations at Bairat date as early as 1935-36.[5] Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni reported Chert flakes and cores on a rough stone-built platform at Bijak-ki-Pahari.[6] Microlithic cores and ovates were also noticed at Bhim-ki-Dungri and Early Stone Age handaxes, ovates and quartzitic flakes in the vicinity of a 'nala' near Ganesh-Dungri.[7]

The present team selected Bijak-ki-Pahari for intensive investigations because, firstly, the felspar, agate, chert and jasper veins in the granitic boulders were an ideal material for the manufacture of microlithic tools and secondly, the platforms and overhanging rocks besides a living water channel with abundant game in the neighbouring region, fulfilled almost all the requirements of an ideal habitational settlement for the prehistoric man.

The hill measures around 3 km. in circuit at its base. The top of the western hill on which, presently, the Mauryan circular temples and the monastic establishment of the monks are located is named platform no. 1. This was also an occupational site of the Acheulian man, who made handaxes and cleavers for his survival.

Platform no. II is located on the northern portion of the hill known as Mahadeva-ki-Dungri. This is a natural platform of roughly set rubble stones. Microliths were picked up from this platform as also from small platfrom on the slope of the hill. The occurrence of cores, unfinished tools, and raw material along with finished tools may suggest that these platforms were tool manufacturing areas (pl. III).

Unfinished and rolled tools of microlithic tradition and some pottery have also been picked up from the lower level of the platform at the base of the Bijak-ki-Pahari. A few rolled and weathered Early Stone Age tools were collected from this platform.

Nearly 100 m.[7] further east sherds of Northern Black Polished Ware and associated red ware were also picked up. The later early historical habitation was confined to the centre of the valley. The available evidence suggests that platform

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no. II was probably, occupied by the microlithic people and the lower level surfaces on the slops were their working sites.

The 'Dopat' *nala* cuts through the Bījak-ki-Pahari and Mahadeva-ki-Dungri. The schematic section noted on the *Dopat nala* comprises of your layers which from bottom to top are as follows: Overlying the bed-rock is a 75 cm. thick silty deposite which contains rubble stones. The third deposit from the base is nearly 2 m. thick. (pl. IV). It is mainly composed of silt and wind borne sand and pebbles, which is indicative of a comparatively dry climate. The fourth deposit is a 1 m. thick deposit, composed of silt, pebbles and boulders. It is the base of this deposit that has yielded microlithic tools.

The material used is only quartz and crude chert of inferior variety. There is a solitary evidence of the use of agate. The tool types include round scraper with high angle touching, side scrapers, core rejuvenated flakes dressed with partial retouching, blades with partial retouching, burin, fluted cores of quartz and crude chert, untouched flakes, crude points with side touching, backed scrapers and bladelets, scrapers, retouched flakes, owls, quartz flakes with high angle retouching at both sides (fig.1). The fluted cores bear close resemblance with the core found in Harappean levels at Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Kalibangan. Microlithic industry has been reported from proto-historic levels at Jodhpura, nearly 16 km. north-west of Bairat on Sahibi river. This may not be treated as an attempt to associate the microlithic industry of Bairat with these bronze age cultures of western India.

The dominant tools like blades, flakes, side-scrapers and the total absence of the geometric tools and fine blades may probably date the entire assemblage to an early phase of the microlithic culture. However there is no more tangible evidence to date this entire assemblage, as the above mentioned factors may be assigned to the available crude material. It needs further work at the site to ascertain the exact nature and date of this microlithic industry.

Notes and References

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We are thankful to the Director General for the plates the copyright of which rests with the A.S.I.

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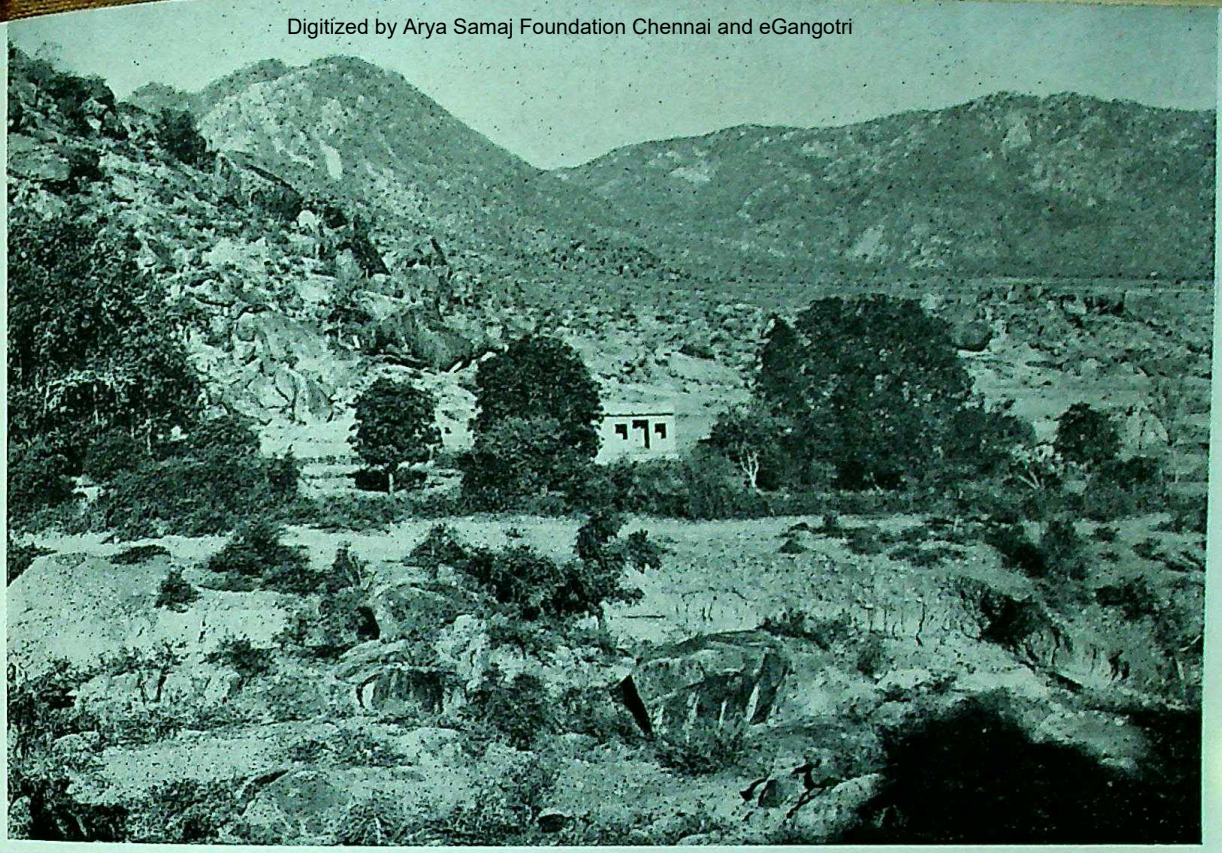

↑ 1. *Bairat* : General view of the valley

↓ 2. *Bairat* : Rocks showing the veins

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A NOTE ON THE TERMS 'INUPA-EDLU' AND 'VELLEDLU'

Dr. S.S. Ramachandra Murthy

Inupa-eḍlu and *Velleḍlu* are two terms often met with in the Telugu inscriptions of the medieval period found mainly in the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh. The cows, sheep, goats, etc. gifted for maintaining a lamp in a temple are generally entrusted to some individual or individuals with the stipulation that he or they should supply the prescribed quantity of ghee daily to the temple so that the lamp can be kept burning without any break. The animals thus gifted are often referred to as *inupa-eḍlu*.

Different opinions regarding the etymology and meaning of this term have been expressed. The Telugu Dictionary *Sūryarāyāndhra Nighaṇṭuvu* (1979 Edition, p. 492; hereafter referred to as *Dictionary*) suggests that the prefix *inupa* in the term *inupa-eḍlu* may stand for *īnu* (which means 'to calve' in Telugu) while the suffix—*eḍlu* is to be derived from Tamil *āḍu* meaning 'goat' or 'sheep'. Disagreeing with this suggestion, Bulusu Venkataramanayya expresses his opinion that *inupa-eḍlu* means 'black animals'. He further argues that the prefix *inupa* is connected with the Telugu word *inumu*, which means iron and hence, according to him, stands for the colour black. As far as the suffix *eḍlu* is concerned he prefers to explain its meaning as 'bulls' since in literary and colloquial Telugu it means the same. However, he proceeds to argue that because the term *eḍlu* in the inscriptions is found as connoting the milk yielding animals, the suggestion of the *Dictionary* that it is to be derived from Tamil *āḍu* has to be rejected. Venkataramanayya affirms that on the basis of his above argument the word *inupa-eḍlu* is to be considered as the earlier form and that the words *īnupa-eḍlu* and *īnpa-eḍlu* are its corrupt forms.[1] According to Budaraju Radhakrishna[2] the etymology and meaning of *inupa-eḍlu* are as follows:

'*inupa.*— adj. *nallaṭi*. Black. adj. form of *inumu* black, iron. *Inumu* is a variant of *enumu*, a she buffalo. Occurs as an attribute of *eḍlu* cf. Tel. *inumu, irulu rēyi*, etc.

eḍlu.—Oxen. plural of *eddu* and variant of *eddulu*. In literary and modern colloquial Telugu the word means an ox only whereas in the inscriptional dialect it is

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a common term for both cows and also buffalos of both sexes. This situation is perhaps due to the preceding attribute *inupa*, adjectival form of inumu'. K. Iswaradattu[3] explains the meaning of the term *inup-eḍlu* as goats and sheep of female sex. According to P.V. Parabrahma Sastri, "This word (i.e. *inupa-eḍlu*) frequently occurs in the medieval Telugu epigraphs to denote sheep or goats or cows, made as gift to the gods for the supply of ghee for lamps. *Vella-eḍlu* is also used occasionally in the same sense. The number of such animal cannot be supposed to have remained constant, because they generally increase in number as time passes on. The increased animals, particularly the male ones, become the personal property of the *bōya* or shepherd. He has to account only for the original number of the animals to the temple authority. The constant number of animals is denoted by the word *inupa-eḍlu*. The term *vella-eḍlu* is not clearly understood"[4].

It is proposed in this paper to discuss in detail regarding the etymology of the words *inupa-eḍlu* and *vella-eḍlu* and to offer a probable meaning to them keeping the above discussions and the concerned epigraphical data in mind.

We find the following variants to the form *inupa-eḍlu* in Telugu inscriptions:

(1) *Īnup-eḍlu, Īnpa-yeḍlu, Yīnpa-eḍlu*: *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1072, 1118 and 1315, V, No. 220.

(2) *Inpu-eḍlu, yinupu-yeḍlu, ibid*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1087, 1122 and 1300.

However, it may be observed that the form *inupa*-(or *inpa-eḍlu*) was comparatively more current in the inscriptions.

Before attempting to discuss about the etymology and meaning of the term in question it is necessary to note the context in which it occurs in the inscriptions. A careful study of the hitherto published inscriptions leads us to conclude that the term *inupa-eḍlu* (or its variants) is invariably used to denote only those animals which are gifted with the stipulation that a prescribed quantity of ghee should be supplied to facilitate the maintenance of a lamp in the temple. It is interesting to note that the cows which are gifted for the purpose of conducting *pāyasa-nivēdana* (milk-food offering) or *kshīr-abhishēka* to god are no where described as *inupa-eḍlu* in the inscriptions. In this context it may also be borne in mind that the term *inupa-eḍlu* denotes not only sheep but also cows, etc.[5] See for example, *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1158 and *Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. IV, p. 65, wherein the former refers to cows as *inupa-yeḍlu* while the latter refers to sheep with the same term.

Now regarding the etymology of the term *inupa-eḍlu*. According to the *Dictionary* the prefix *inupa* in the expression *inupa-eḍlu* is connected with the Tamil (also in Telugu) root *īnu* (to calve) while Venkataramanayya and Radhakrishna suggest that it is the adjectival form of *inumu*, which actually means 'iron' and because of its colour the meaning may be extended to denote 'black'. Both the scholars also consider the word *inumu* as a variant of *enumu* ('she-buffalo'). Likewise regarding the suffix *eḍlu*, the *Dictionary* derives it from Ta. *āḍu*, which means 'sheep'. However, both Venkataramanayya and Radhakrishna prefer to consider the term as related to Tel.

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eddu meaning 'ox' (see above).

In this connection the suggestion of Parabrahma Sastri, which is quoted above, is noteworthy. It may be observed in the inscriptions that the donor of a lamp to a deity generally gifts a particular number of animals, be it cows or sheep or goats or she buffalos (last one being very rare), with the stipulation that the individual (or individuals) to whom the animals are entrusted should supply a specified measure of ghee to the temple daily so that the lamp can be maintained without any break. The animals thus entrusted will naturally increase in number as time passes on. However, it must also be noted that due to some reason some of the gifted animals may die or due to old age may become incapable of yielding milk, which may result in reduction in the quantity of ghee to be supplied to the temple. To avoid such situation either the donor of the lamp or the individual to whom the animals are entrusted is expected to maintain the number of the gifted animals so that there will be no reduction in the supply of ghee to the temple. In other words, there should be no change in the number of milk-yielding animals gifted for a lamp.

In this context some Tamil inscriptions provide us significant information. The Uḍaiyārguḍi (South Arcot District) inscription[6] of the time of Sundarachōḷa records the gift of 90 sheep (*āḍu*) for supplying one *uḻakku* of ghee, which are described as *śāvā-mūva-pĕr-āḍu*, which means that the gifted sheep are never-dying (*śāvā*), never becoming old (*mūvā*) and (thus) ever living sheep (*pĕr-āḍu*). Another inscription[7] from Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tiruchi District), belonging to the time of Gaṇḍarāditya, records the gift of 30 sheep (*āḍu-śermari*) and 30 goats (*veḷḷāḍu*), which (both sheep and goats) are again described as *śāvā-mūvā-pĕr-āḍu*, for burning one perpetual lamp. Yet another inscription[8] from Parinkōvil (North Arcot District) records the gift of 90 sheep described as *śāvā-mūvā-pĕr-āḍu*, for supplying one *uḻakku* of ghee for burning one perpetual lamp.

The term *śāvā-mūvā-pĕr-āḍu* found in the above cited examples is a very interesting expression. It means that the sheep (or goats) gifted for the purpose of maintaining a lamp will neither die nor become old and thus they are perpetual. In other words, such sheep or goats are always capable of yielding milk. By this, we will not be incorrect if we presume that the donor is responsible to see that the number of milk-yielding sheep (or goats) does not diminish resulting in shortage of ghee to be supplied to the temple.

Now we can compare the Telugu term *inupa*-with the Tamil expression *śāvā-mūvā*. The former is almost a literal expression while the latter is figurative. The actual sense of both the expressions is that the animals should always be milk-yielding. Therefore we may safely conclude that the Telugu term *inupa* must be connected with the root *īnu* which means 'to calve' and not with *inumu* which stands for 'black colour'. Having arrived at this conclusion we may suggest the derivation of *inupa*—as follows:

īnup-eḍlu—īnpa-eḍlu—īnpeḍlu—inupa-eḍlu/inpa-eḍlu. This is further supported by the occurrence of the forms with long initial *ī* (*īnupa-eḍlu*) etc., also in the inscriptions.

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As far as the suffix—*eḍlu* in the above expressions is concerned it is obvious that it stands not only for sheep but also for other animals like cows etc., as can be gathered from the examples cited above. We may presume that initially only the sheep gifted for maintaining lamps were referred to as *īnupa-eḍlu* and that as time passed on the other animals like cows which were gifted for the same purpose were also referred to as *īnupeḍlu*. It is not improbable that the term *īnupeḍlu* or its variants were used as technical terms denoting the animals gifted for maintaining lamps.

The expression *vell-eḍlu* is also found in the inscriptions in the same context in which we find *inupa-eḍlu*.[9] Iswaradattu explains its meaning as 'cows'.[10] However, the term *vell-eḍlu* map be compared with the expression *veḷḷ-āḍu* found in the Tamil inscriptions in the same context, which means goats. We have already referred to the Śrīnivāsanallūr inscription which purports to record the gift of 30 sheep (*āḍu-śermari*) and 30 goats (*veḷḷ-āḍu*) for burning a perpetual lamp. In Telugu inscriptions also we have many references to the gifts of goats for maintaining a perpetual lamp.[11] Therefore it may not be improbable that *vell-eḍlu* found in the Telugu inscriptions is related to Tamil *veḷḷ-āḍu* and that it stands for goats.

Notes and References

1. *Bhārati* (Telugu Monthly), 1937, July, pp. 25-27.
2. *Prāchīnāndhra Śāsanālu* (in Telugu and English), Hyderabad, 1971, pp. 231 and 241.
3. *Śāsana-śabda-kośamu* (in Telugu and English), Hyderabad, 1967, p. 77.
4. *Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. IV, p. 143.
5. Contra. *Dictionary* and *Śāsana-śabda-kośamu*.
6. *SII*, Vol. XIII, No. 198. Oru *nandāviḷakkerivadarku . . . . uḷakku ney tiruviḷakkuku aṭṭakkadav-ārāhakkuḍuttav=āḍu* 90 *ittoṉṉurāḍum śāvāmūvāpʒrāḍu.*
7. *Ibid.*, No. 2. *tirunondāviḷakku chandrāditav ar erippadāha aṭṭikuḍutta āḍu śermari pādiyum veḷḷāḍu pādiyum āha arupadu śāvāmūvāpʒrāḍāha perumānaḍigaḷukku aṭṭiuḍkutteṉ.*
8. *Ibid.*, No. 71. *nandāviḷakku onrinukku nichcham uḷakkuppaḍi ney koṇḍerippadāha vaitta śāvāmū-vāppʒradu toṉṉūru.*
9. *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 109 and 141; Vol. X, No. 385.
10. *Śāsana-śabda-kośamu*, p. 280.
11. *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 181, 598 and 599; Vol. X, Nos. 134 and 155.

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THE KHAŚAS IN THE HISTORY OF UTTARAKHAND

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Introduction

The Khaśas, who are believed to be an ancient race, have been discussed more than once in the context of the history of Uttarakhand (Garhwal and Kumaun regions of Uttar Pradesh) as a people inhabitating the Himalayas. It was probably Atkinson[1] who first thought in the terms of a Khaśa migration in the Central Himalayas from distant northern regions. He writes : 'We may now conclude that we have carefully and fairly made out a connection between dynasty ruling west of Indus known as Katores and the Kumaon Katyuris and between the people of Kumaon and the Kunets[2] of Kinnor and the Khos of Khaskara.' Some writers even went to the extent of stating that the Khaśas occupied the entire Himalayan belt from Kashgar, Kashmir to Khasi Hills beyond Assam.[3] Almost all the scholars on the subject think that Khaśas to be of Aryan stock and believe the theory of Khaśas occupation of Uttarakhand. However, Nautiyal's remark is significant in this respect: 'The period of Khaśas in India are particularly in Kumaon region cannot be in any way recorded with precision whatever has been written about them is based more on conjectures worked out after strong references of Greek writers and on the testimonies of Purāṇic literature. One notable feature, however, is quite significant that Khaśas as a whole — emerging out of a powerful tribe — played a very interesting role in later history of Kumaon'.[4] Rahula Sankrityayana[5] further tried to strengthen the theory of Khaśa expansion in the Himalayas by making a reference to some old graves including one at Lippa which, on the basis of his own examination, he regarded to be of the Khaśas. Yet, much importance cannot be attached to Rahula's observations for, archaeological contents of the graves referred to him have nothing specific suggesting Khaśa affinity. He also did not date the graves. Besides, nothing similar has so far been found in India and not even in the north-west which could prove such a hypothesis. He further believed that old non-Islamic graves at Dwarahat and Brijnath in District Almora

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(U.P.) are also of the Khasas, but locally these are known to be *samādhis* of local *sanyāsīs* or their householder descendants, for it is still a living practice amongst the *grihastha jogīs* (dasanamis) in the hill area of U.P. to bury their dead. Both Pande[6] and Rahula[7] feel that the Khasas occupation of Uttarakhand preceded the migration of Vedic Aryas from the plains, although there is no archaeological proof to suggest such a migration. We now propose to examine the problem afresh along with the available literery and epigraphical data.

Literary data

The Khaśas have been equated with Cesi of Pliny[8] and Kasperaioi of Ptolemy but this view was quashed by Powell Price and Nautiyal, for, much reliance cannot be placed of the similarity of sounds in two words. Nor are we in a position to connect them with the city of Kaspatyarus or Herodetus[9]. Some Tibetian text places the Khaśas south of Ladakh without specifying the exact area of their occupation.[10]

However, the Brahmanic *Purāṇas* the *Mahābhārata* and other texts do refer to the Khaśas in specific terms. For instance, *Vāyu* and *Vishṇu Purāṇas* refer to a daughter of Daksha Prajāpati named Khaśā married to Kasyapa who had two sons called as Yaksha and Rakshasa. Of purely mythological character, this reference does not seem to carry much historical value, although it certainly represents an attempt of the Purāṇic authors to group the Khaśas within the Hindu social system with a common mythical ancestor. A similar tradition is also preserved in the *Mahābhārata* wherein the Khaśas along with the Pahlavas, the Pāradas, the Draviḍas, the Yavanas, the Kirātas, the Pulindas, the Chīnas, the Hūṇas, etc., are stated to have been created by Nandinī,[11] the sacred cow of sage Vaśishṭha during his first encounter with Vishvāmitra.

In the same way, author of the *Manusmṛiti* (X, 10, 44-44) calls them degraded Kshatriyas along with Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, Draviḍas, Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chines etc. These references definitely reveal that Khaśas, who were originally outside the orthodox Brahmanical society, got incorporated within the Indian society at a later date probably in the post Kushan period.

Other references to the Khaśas in the *Mahābhārata* are also interesting but not atricably in conformity with each other. For instance, in the Udyoga-Parva (160, 161) they are brakketted with the Kāmbojas and the Śakas perhaps as the inhabitants of some northern region (*Kāmboja-Śakaiḥ-Khaśaiścha*). The Droṇa-Parva mentions them with Daradas, Taṅgaṇes (as *ayohastā* and *śūlahastā*, i.e., weilders of iron-rods and spears), Lampakas and Kulinda. The inclusion of Kulindas, who had a definite habitat between Yamuna and Sutlej (and further east) from an early period, with purely northern tribes like the Lampakas (people of Lamghan and the Daradas) is probably a mistake. Further, in the Karṇa-Parxa, the Khaśas are listed with Gāndharas, Madras (Sialkot region) Matsyas, (Trigartas Kangra area) and Tanganas. In the present case, the Matsyas of this list are to be identified as people of Matsya[12] country in the Punjab as known in later Vedic texts and not of the Matsya, a

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janapada of later times in eastern Rajasthan. This list thus clearly suggests a geographical order in which we find the Tanganas and the Khaśas located somewhere in the borders of present Himachal Pradesh and Garhwal. Yet it is surprising to note that while mentioning Arjuna's *digvijaya* in central Himalyan region, viz., the Antargiri (inner Himalayas), Vahirgiri (outer Himalayas) and Upgiri (foot-hills), the authors of the *Mahābhārata* do not refer to the Khaśas, although Kuṇindas, Kalakutas, Kulūtas and Uttarakulūtas and other tribes like Utsava-Saṅketa Gaṇas defeated by Arjuna, besides Senabindu a king of Devaprastha (which may be Devaprayag in Garhwal) and a Paurava ruler named Viśvagaśva[13] are mentioned there.

Equally interesting are other verses of the *Mahābhārata* preserved in the Sabhāparva (48, 2-3) in which the Khaśas find mention along with Ekāsanas, Jyohas, Pradaras, Dīrghaveṇūs, Paśupas, Kuṇindas, Taṅgaṇas and Paratanganas whose habitat is placed between Meru and Mandars mountains on the banks of a river named Śailoda.

Meru and Mandars mountains are now generally identified in Garhwal with Rudra Himalayas and Badarinath or Kailasa[14] respectively, but there is no Śailoda river there.

Moti Chandra[15] proposes the identification of Śailodā with Silo or Yarkand river in Central Asia and of Meru with Karakoram and Mandara with Kun-Lun ranges without much certainty. It is also difficult to locate settlements of all the tribes enumerated in Sabhāparva in Uttarakhand except those of Kuṇindas, Taṅgaṇas and Paratanganas. Perhaps the Paśupās were identical with Gabdikas or herdsman (Gaddi) of Chamba. The rest of the tribes like the Dirghavenūs, the Pradaras, the Jyohas and the Khaśa might, therefore, have occupied north-western regions including Kashmir, Chitral and further north. This hypothesis, however, would be valid only when we locate Meru in Central Asia (identifying it with Mt. Meros in Pamirs) and Mandars in Garhwal. In that case Śailodā is to be taken just as a generalized term for any hill river. Yet, let us admit that more surmise would remain invalid unless we have more pertinent references confirming it.

In spite of the vagueness of the last quoted reference, the *Mahābhārata* does suggest in clear terms two areas of the Khaśa occupation, viz., (*i*) the region of the extreme north of India where they lived with Śakas and Kāmbojas and (*ii*) in Central Himalayan region where their neighbours were Taṅgaṇas and Trigartas. Later Puranic references on the Khaśa also appear, more or less, based on the different statements about the tribe made in the *Mahābhārata*.

Lalitavistara, a Buddhist text of the Kushan period, mentions Khaśa writing which was in vogue between the countries of Daradistan and China in upper course of Indus and ancient Chinese frontiers according to Moti Chandra.[16] He further informs us that Jñānagupta, a Buddhist translator of sixth and the seventh century glosses the word Khaśa with Chou-le i.e. Kashgar. The *Mudrārākshasa*[17] of Viśākhadatta also mentions Khaśas, with the exception of the Chedis and the Magadhas

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together with all other north-western people like the Gāndharas, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Kulūtas, etc. Much reliance, however, cannot be placed on what has been stated by Rajasekhara in *Kāvya-Mimāṁsā*[18] regarding a Khasādhipati of Kārttikeyapura in the Himalayas, for it is based on a confused version of historical tradition about Rāmagupta and his Śaka adversary. Even if it is taken to mean a ninth or tenth century Khaśa ruler of Kārttikeyapura, it cannot be accepted, as none of the Katyūrī rulers of this period calls himself a Khasādhipati in the records.

Epigraphical data

The fact that many Katyūrī inscriptions[19] do mention Khaśa along with the Kirāta, the Draviḍa, the Kaliṅga, the Gauḍa, the Huṇa, the Meda, the Andhra and Chāṇḍala *saṁvāsas* shows that these rulers were not Khaśas or members of any of the communities mentioned. An interesting expression in Lalitasuras inscription as '*Khashīyaka Paribhujya-māna-Pallikā*' simply seems to refer to a *palliakā* or village that was being enjoyed by a person named Khasīyaka.

The expression '*tulitakhasaba la*' used in the Khajuraho inscription by Yasovarman Chandella does not seem to refer to the Central Himalayan army as there is no reference to the Himalayas. It may, however, be applicable to the Khaśa army of the Kashmira ruler whom Yasovarman claims to have defeated, for numerous passages of the *Rajatarangini* refer to Khaśa settlement around Vitasta valley.

The Bodhgaya epigraph of Sahanapala[21] of the late twelfth century A.D. mentioning a Dulu ruler (western Nepal) Asokachalla as the overlord of the Khasa country in Sapadalaksha mountains also seems to be a generalized statement by suggesting Khasa origin all hill people and their rulers.

Concluding Remarks

Let us now reassess the whole issue. In this connection it has to be noted that in the early Indian literature including Panini's *Aṣhṭādhyāyī*, the Khaśas are conspicuous by their absence. It is perhaps somewhere around the beginning of the Christian era or later, when the Indian authors became familiar with north-western tribes and people including the Śakas, the Khaśas find a mention in Indian texts. The earliest date of their migration in the main Indian land therefore should not be before first century B.C.

In the *Mahābhārata* a significant reference to the Khaśas is in the Udyoga Parva where they are mentioned with Sakas and Kamboja which may refer to their settlement in Central Asia. If we exclude Kuṇindas from the tribes mentioned in the Droṇa Parva then we find the Khaśas with the Daradas, the Taṅgaṇas and the Lampakas on the borders of the Indian subcontinent, thus indicating the second stage of Khaśa migration. The Taṅgaṇas. like the Khaśas, were perhaps a foreign tribe who also seem to have entered India alongwith them around the beginning of Christian era perhaps as a pastoral community. *Āvaśyaka Churṇi*, a Jaina text,

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locates them in the north and calls them as barterers of gold and ivory. Dr. Moti Chandra[22] further informs us that a people known as Taṅgaṇas from Kashgar region till recently used to bring gold dust, precious stones and jade to the markets of Śrinagar in Kashmir. It is not unlikely that the word Taṅgana itself may be a Sanskritized terms of the Central Asian term Tigin meaning a chief or leader. By about the eighth century A.D., they seem to have occupied some of upper Garhwal and probably founded a district called Taṅkaṇapura which is mentioned in the copper plate of Padmaṭadeva, a Katyūrī ruler.[23] According to Sanskrityayana the Tangaṇiā Rajputs of Uttarakhand may be their descendants, but it is also likely that their forefathers lived in Taṅkaṇapura *vishaya*.

The reference to Khaśa and Taṅgaṇas with Trigartas in the Karṇa Parva certainly belongs to a period when some of them had probably settled somewhere along the western borders of Garhwal. It is rather difficult to identify the exact area of their occupation now. Yet, the possibility of real Jaunsaris being of a Khaśa origin, cannot be ruled out.

It is thus clear that the Khaśas who were of Central Asian origin came to India not through Tibet but *via* north west and the Punjab along with other foreign tribes like the Śakas and the Tokhārās or Kushans. Unlike the non-Indian migrant tribes like the Yavanas, Śakas, Ābhiras, Kushans, the references to the Khaśas are absent in early inscriptions, which suggests that, most likely, the Khaśas entered India as pastoral folk with their families and cattles in one or different groups. Later on, they settled in some parts of the present Jammu and Kashmir state besides Uttarakhand. Yet, originally, their numerical strength may have been very little like that of any migrant tribe to India. They may have become conspicuous on account of some of their peculiar cultural traits. It is significant to note that Kālidasa, who distinctly mentions the important tribes of Uttarakhand like Kirātas, Utsava-Sanketas, etc. does not mention the Khaśas at all. Probably, he knew their non-Indian origin and smallness of their number.

One may now ask a question as to why then the Khaśa association is so strongly emphasized almost throughout the Himalayan belt in the terms like *Kedāre Khasa maṇḍale*, Sapadalaksha as country of the Khaśas or Rajasekhara's reference to a Khasapati of Karttikeyapura. But in our reply we may say that this kind of tradition is based on prejudices of the Madhyadesa Brahmanical orthodoxy who regarded the hill people till recently as *achāra-hīna* and of inferior culture which was equated with tribal Khaśa customs and manners. This myth seems to have perpetuated by the orthodox section of Brahmanical order and migrants Brahmanas, Rajputs and other high class communities to Himalayan regions who always regarded themselves superior to the local population. Had the majority of hill population been of the Khaśa origin they would have gladly called themselves as Taṅgaṇias. In Uttarakhand neither any Brahman, low or high, nor Rajput or even other communities regard themselves as Khaśas. They always considered the term Khaśa itself derogatory to their status. Besides, the structure of the Central Himalayan languages does not show

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any strong non-Indian (Khaśa) base, which further reflects that the ancient Khaśa and Taṅgaṇa settlements in Uttarakhand were of insignificant nature. There are two probabilities that either the Khaśa like Śakas and Tukhāras got merged in the main stream of Indian population or they maintained their own small isolated pockets. In the latter case only tribals of Jaunsār Babar or Tharus and Bokshas of Himalayan Terai could be taken to be the modern representatives of the Khaśas. Thus, in both the situations it was unlikely that the Khaśa migration to Uttarakhand may have made any lasting impact on the local people or culture. The importance of the problem was overstressed by Atkinson and other writers unnecessarily.

Notes and References

1. E.T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Gazetteer*, II (Allahabad 1882) p. 449.
2. The Kunets of Himachal could also be connected with Kaunatiputra of Panini. *cf.* Vasudeva Saran Agrawala, *Panini Kalina Bharatavarsha* (Varanasi, V.S. 2012), p. 193.
3. Badaridatta Pande, *Kumaon ka Itihasa* (Almora, 1937) p. 542.
4. Kanti Prasad Nautiyal, *The archaeology of Kumaon*, (Varanasi, 1969) p. 20.
5. Rahul Sankrityayana, *Himalaya Parichaya* (1) (Allahabad, 1953), p. 58.
6. Pande, *op. cit.* p. 542.
7. Sankrityayana, *op. cit.* p. 58.
8. Atkinson, *op. cit.* p. 355.
9. Nautiyal, *op. cit.* 17.
10. *Himachal District Gazatteer* (Lahul and Spiti) (Chandigarh, 1975) p. 1.
11. *Mahābhārata* (Ādiparva, 175, verses 135-139); (Poona, 1929), p. 290;
12. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala, *op. cit.*, (Varanasi, 2012) p. 71.
13. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhaparva, 23, 13-14, and 24, 1-15 (Paradi, 1968) pp. 124, 127-128.
14. Bhagwat Sharan Upadhyaya, *India in Kalidasa* (2nd edition) (Delhi, 1963) pp. 6-7.
15. Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economical Studies in the Mahabharata : Upayana Parva*, (Lucknow, 1945), p. 75.
16. Moti Chandra, *op. cit.* pp. 75-76.
17. *Mudrarakshasa* (of Vishakhadatta), 5th Canto, Śloka 11.
18. *Cf.* Dattvāruddhagatiḥ Khasādhipataye Devim Dhruvasvaminim Yasmātkhanditasāhaso nivavrite sae Śarma-gupto nripah I
    Tasminneva Himālaye giriguhā konakvanatkinnere Giyante tava Kārttikeyanagare
    Strinam ganai kirttayah II
    Ganga Sagar Rai (Editor) *Kavyamimamsa* Chap. IX. (Varanasi, 1964) p. 124.
19. Rahul Sankrityayana, *op. cit.* pp. 83-88.
20. Sivaprasad Dabral, *Uttarakhand ka Itihas. III* (Dogadda, v.s. 2026) p. 439.
21. *Epigraphia Indica* (Bhandarkar's List) Śl. No. 1468.
22. Moti Chandra, *op. cit.* p. 124. Rajasekhara also referred to Tanganas as one of the tribes of Uttarapatha, beyond (North of) Prithūdaka (Pehowa in Haryana) along with Śakas, Kakayas, Vokkanas, Hūnas, Kambojas, Vālhikas, Limpākas, Kulūkas, Kīras, Tushāras, Turushkas etc.
    Cf. Ganga Sagar Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
23. Rahul Sankrityayana, *op. cit.* p. 83.

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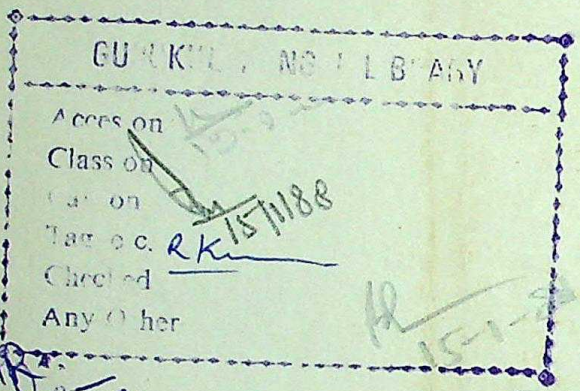

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